HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Drugs Again a Target

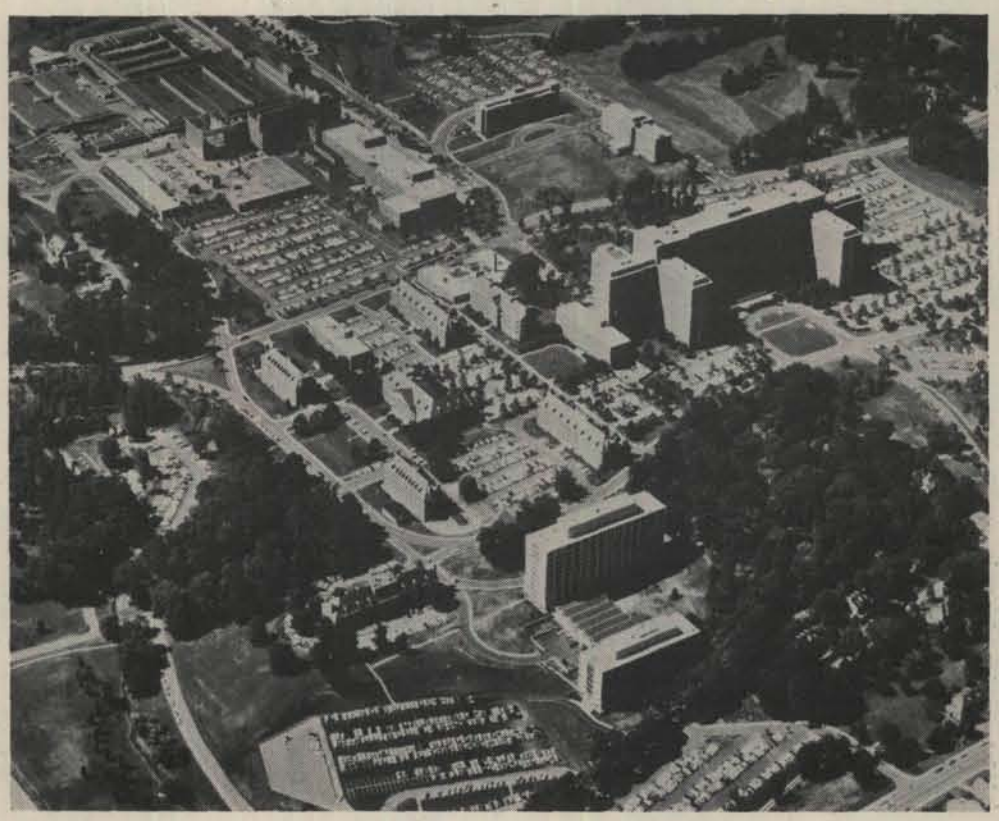
More Government Medicine Ahead

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Any fellow who undertakes to warn of "socialized medicine" in the United States runs the risk of being tagged an extremist, or at least a tool of the American Medical Association, before he concludes his opening sentence. By definition, socialism implies the government's ownership or administration of a particular business or profession, and our doctors are a long way from being owned or controlled by the burgeoning state.

Yet when Elijah saw that famous little cloud, no greater than a man's hand, he prophesied rain and ran down the mountain. Some clouds are forming here on Capitol Hill which suggest, by the same token, that those who are concerned with the healing arts would do well to gird up their loins. The government's involvement with medicine is deep, pervasive, and to some of us, ominous.

The President has made it clear, both in his budget and in his recent message on older Americans, that he wishes to see this involvement become much greater in the year ahead. In a closely related field, the drug manufacturing industry, a favorite congressional scapegoat since the days of Estes Kefauver, is about to be whipped through a gauntlet again.



Spending by the National Institutes of Health is scheduled to soar to $1.2 billion in fiscal 1968.

It is doubtful that many persons are wholly familiar with the astonishing proliferation of federal grants for research, training and fellowships in the medical arts. Some idea of these trends may be gained by comparing federal outlays in 1965-66 with what Mr. Johnson proposes for 1967-68.

In this two-year period federal expenditures for "health manpower" will go from $88.3 million to $181.3 million. The National Institutes of Health, which spent $937.5 million in fiscal '66, are down for $1.2 billion in fiscal '68. A program of nurse training will grow from $13 million to $23 million. Funds allocated to "general studies of medical manpower" will increase from $406,000 to $1.1 million.

The Johnson budget for '68 contemplates 1,500 grants and fellowships in cancer research, 2,375 in heart disease, 3,000 in arthritis, 1,900 in neurology, 1,800 in allergies, 500 in dentistry, 1,300 in pediatrics, and 3,700 in general medicine. It is a fair presumption that every medical and dental school in the nation is becoming increasingly dependent upon federal grants of one sort or another.

In the President's view, "Medicare is an unqualified success." Nevertheless, without pausing to take breath, he proposes substantial extensions of coverage. He asks $280 million for Hill-Burton hospital construction, and new loans and guarantees for construction of nursing homes. He proposes federally financed infirmaries in senior citizens' housing projects. He wants to see special pilot projects launched "to bring comprehensive medical and rehabilitation services to the aged."

Meanwhile, Louisiana's Sen. Russell Long is waiting for a propitious time to reintroduce the bill he offered last year, by which doctors would be compelled to prescribe "generic" drugs instead of brand-name drugs for patients whose medical bills are paid in part by federal funds.

Long's bill is predicated upon a number of phony assumptions, rigged figures and demagogic appeals, but in denouncing the "high cost of drugs" he has hold of a popular cause.

He makes a great case that the Achromycin capsules sold to druggists by Lederle at $14.96 are indistinguishable from generic tetracycline capsules available at $2.75. He imagines that the Meticorten tablets made by the Schering Co. at $17.90 per thousand are identical to the generic prednisone which wholesales for 69 cents. He would make it unlawful, in any federally aided program, for doctors or druggists to provide specific brand-name drugs.

The senator cites a Pennsylvania study which indicated that such a requirement would effect a 40 per cent reduction in drug costs to welfare recipients. (A Rhode Island study placed the reduction at something under 2 per cent, but the senator seems to have missed that study.)

To the senator, price is all that counts; and such considerations as quality control, purity and the techniques of a tablet's actual manufacture are immaterial.

Sen. Morse of Oregon joined last year in sponsorship of Long's bill on generic drugs. In a speech on July 13 he asserted that American doctors "have to be made to understand" what they owe the federal government: "The taxpayer provides the schools, the laboratories, the subsidies, and makes it possible for them to become so-called private practitioners. They need to be brought under fair, just and reasonable regulation; and here is one place."

The notions of Long and Morse on "fair, just and reasonable regulation" of doctors and drug houses are not yet written into law. But if they succeed, and if the health budget is adopted, a concerned nation will have new cause to ponder the health of its healing arts.

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● Former Vice President Richard Nixon foresees Gov. **Ronald Reagan** as a future presidential possibility. "I think the odds are that he'll succeed as governor," Nixon recently told columnist Earl Wilson, "and anybody who succeeds as governor of California is a national figure. . . . Everybody's underestimating him . . . . Most successful actors are gifted people who have disciplined themselves to work hard. Ronnie has taken the discipline he used in acting into politics. It's a fetish of his to study. He's been brilliant."

● The Los Angeles Free Press, an underground leftist paper in California, recently ran this cute little ad: "Send cash contributions to the **Hire An Assassin to Talk to Ronald Reagan Fund** to #442, 9534 Reseda, Northrdg. (tx. dedc)." Joke or no, the police are looking into it.

● LBJ has decided to replace a portrait of George Washington that has been hanging in the presidential office with a picture the President believes has more allure. Commissioned by the White House Historical Association and painted by Elizabeth Shoumatoff, the portrait is of LBJ idol **Franklin Delano Roosevelt**. Speaking recently of the painting, LBJ said it will hang there "as long as I am President."

● Where do Romney supporters think they can get support? From the liberal readers of the New Republic. Appearing in the February 11 issue of that leftist publication is an ad seeking members for the "progressive, nationwide **College Americans for Romney**, Inc." of Hanover, N.H.

● Senate Minority Leader **Everett M. Dirksen** (R.-Ill.) has apologized for his bitter comments about Sen. Clifford Case (R.-N.J.), but Dirksen, say insiders, regrets only having made his innermost thoughts public. Case had provoked Dirksen's angry outburst on February 2 when he said there was a "very definite possibility" that so-called "moderate" Republicans would stage a revolt against Dirksen because of some of his hard-line anti-Communist positions. Without referring to Case by name, Dirksen shot back the next day: "If anybody spoils for a fight, I will give him a fight. He belongs to the other side of the party aisle, along with Wayne Morse. He never votes with the party."

● Newsweek magazine reports that a pro Clark Kerr axis at San Francisco's century-old Mechanics Institute is trying to sack the president of the trustees, corporation lawyer **Theodore R. Meyer**. Reason? Meyer is also chairman of the Board of Regents at the University of California and voted with the majority to fire President Kerr for his inept administration. Since Meyer's connection with the institute automatically gives him a seat on the Board of Regents, the liberals are trying to shake him loose from his institute post.

● Good news for conservatives: **A. Searle Pinney**, the liberal chairman of the Connecticut State Republican party, is resigning. In 1966 the vehemently anti-conservative Pinney virtually dictated the party's choice of a gubernatorial candidate, selecting Clayton Gengras, an unknown Hartford insurance executive whom friends thought was a Democrat. In November not only did Gengras go down in humiliating defeat, but Connecticut Republicans picked up only one House seat out of six held by Democrats. According to reports, Mr. Pinney's political skills will not be missed.

● The conservative-oriented **Robert T. Hartmann**, former head of the Los Angeles Times' Washington Bureau, is now writing speeches for GOP House leader Gerald Ford.

● A surprise source has expressed unqualified opposition to various proposals now under consideration to give the poor guaranteed annual incomes. The pioneer of Social Security and Medicare, **Wilbur J. Cohen**, the under secretary of health, education and welfare, testified before the Joint Economic Committee last week that cash subsistence payments to the poor might create "dis-incentives to work." His opposition to the proposal, he said, was not based on cost, but that it would destroy the will to work.

● The White House is soliciting advice from Mary Wells—the high-powered Madison Avenue advertising mogul—on improving **LBJ's image** among the young. Miss Wells, who built up an industry-wide reputation through her Alka Seltzer commercials ("no matter what shape your tummy's in . . ."), has been conferring with LBJ aide Robert Kintner.

● Astounding as it may seem, the U.S. State Department is getting credit for the way in which it handled the case of **Kazan-Komerek**, the naturalized American who was kidnaped from a Soviet airliner in Prague and put on trial for high treason. Instead of being executed or severely sentenced he was expelled, a curious treatment for someone the Czechs had so desperately attempted to Shanghai and put on trial. Washington's angry actions, including the halting of U.S. visas to Czech trade representatives, are said to have forced Komarek's release. The question is: Why don't we act this way more often?

● The Communist Worker of February 7 highlights a speech by **Victor Reuther** in which he scored AFL-CIO leaders who are vigorously opposing communism. The cold war against communism, said Reuther, is "stupid." A brother and administrative assistant to UAW President Walter Reuther, who quit the AFL-CIO executive council last week partly because of its foreign policy, Victor Reuther was also quoted as referring to Communist nations as "Socialist countries."

● The recent Minneapolis Tribune's Minnesota Poll shows that **LBJ's rating** is the lowest in the state since he took office. Only 40 per cent of the state's residents, the poll reveals, approve of LBJ while 46 per cent actually disapprove. It is the first time more people have disapproved of him than approved.

● Surprise, Surprise Department: Defense Secretary Robert McNamara has presented the Pentagon's Distinguished Public Service Medal to his retiring information chief, **Arthur Sylvester**. McNamara praised Sylvester for his work, claiming with a straight face that "his efforts greatly increased the flow of information to the American people."

● A dozen Democratic senators—including both Kennedys—have introduced legislation setting up a **National Foundation for the Social Sciences**. The proposed outfit would reward "promising" scholars with research grants and cost taxpayers more than $20 million a year. One Republican—Mark Hatfield of Oregon—is listed among the co-sponsors.

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Romney Moves Left

"Gov. George Romney's campaign is going from bad to worse." That seems to be the consensus of both conservative and liberal Romney Watchers who are intensely interested in the Michigan governor's bid for the GOP presidential nomination in 1968.

ROMNEY

Romney, they say, has already left a trail of campaign mistakes behind him, but last week he committed one of his biggest boo-boos to date when he hired as consultants two extreme anti-Goldwater liberals.

The governor is considered vulnerable in many areas, including his inability to articulate his position on a whole range of subjects. Still, it was felt, this problem could perhaps be overcome. The major obstacle to his nomination, say politicos, is the resentment among Republican conservatives who have yet to forgive Romney for failing to support Goldwater in 1964. In order to gain the nomination, it is contended, Romney will have to make his peace with this angry element.

In the words of one Republican, however, "Romney appears to be doing everything calculated to build a wall between himself and those who backed Goldwater."

After his 1966 victory rocketed him into presidential orbit, Romney decided to hold his first big political meeting with New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, Goldwater's most severe antagonist in 1964. Subsequent to this Puerto Rico powwow, Romney's letter explaining why he refused to support Goldwater was released to the New York *Times*, causing an abrasive reaction among Goldwater backers. In this letter not only did the Michigan governor say he didn't agree with Goldwater, but he slyly accused him of running a racist campaign—an accusation amply disproved by the record.

Continuing to throw dirt in the face of the Goldwater supporters, Romney has now hired as speech writers Bruce Chapman and George F. Gilder, two young and vociferously liberal Republicans.

Friends since their days together at Harvard in the late '50s, Chapman and Gilder teamed up in 1960 to help lead a youth division of the abortive Rockefeller for President campaign. When this

Gov. George Romney has hired the liberal dynamic duo of George Gilder (left) and Bruce Chapman to work on his sputtering presidential campaign.

failed, they turned their energies to editing out of Washington, D.C., a "progressive Republican" publication, *Advance*. Founded with Rockefeller money, the magazine folded in 1964 when even liberal Republicans became tired of financing it. Both fellows then boarded the stop-Goldwater movement.

In 1966 Alfred A. Knopf put out a thoroughgoing anti-Goldwater book by Chapman and Gilder called *The Party That Lost Its Head.* (See *Human Events*, June 11, 1966, page 9.)

Not content with harpooning Goldwater, the authors aimed some sharp barbs at party leaders Sen. Everett Dirksen and Rep. Gerald Ford for being too conservative. They took a slam at Southern Republicans, Republicans who oppose federal aid, Republicans who support right-to-work laws—in fact, just about any Republican who doesn't fit into the Lindsay-Rockefeller-Javits mold.

Freely confessing that Jacob Javits' book, *Order of Battle*, is almost identical to the premises held by Hubert Humphrey, the authors still insisted that Javits' tome "remains the best published statement of progressive Republicanism since Arthur Larson's *A Republican Looks at His Party*. . . ."

Equally intriguing as the contents is how the book came into existence. One would suspect that a book expounding modern Republicanism had been incubated under the watchful eye of a Lindsay or a Javits. Instead, it was actually hatched in the offices of the *New Leader*, the house organ of America's

THIS WEEK'S NEWS

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INSIDE WASHINGTON

non-Communist Democratic left. Gilder, in fact, most recently has been an associate editor of the *New Leader*.

The magazine not only boasts of the fact that the book originated in its offices, but says the Chapman-Gilder work "would place the GOP somewhere to the left of the Democrats. . . ."

Despite their pronounced liberal bias, however, Gov. Romney apparently feels he needs Chapman and Gilder's help in his floundering trek toward the White House.

• In spite of the fact that he won the governorship by a large majority in 1966 and has become a potential presidential candidate, Romney is by no means unopposed by Republicans in his own state.

Anti-Romney Republicans in Michigan emerged unscathed recently in county and congressional district conventions in metropolitan Detroit. They held their own in Macomb County and in eastern Wayne County, and scored tentative gains in western Oakland County, setting the stage for a lively state GOP convention in Detroit on February 25.

Selection of convention delegates at meetings throughout the state, noted the Detroit *Free Press*, left no doubt that Romney's forces will be in firm command at the state parley. But conservatives, led by Richard Durant, who won election as district chairman in the 14th Congressional District, will be a vocal minority opposing the governor's plan to institute a state income tax and his softness on Viet Nam.

Public TV

Even the liberal Washington *Post* has found fault with an LBJ-endorsed study commission recommendation calling on Congress to set up a federally chartered "Public Television" corporation.

Put forth by the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, the proposal envisions a network of 380 stations locally owned but nationally integrated and controlled through the corporation.

Under the plan, the President would name six of the 12 directors, while the corporation would be financed in part by an excise tax on all new TV sets manufactured in this country. The proposal has been warmly welcomed by a number of influential senators.

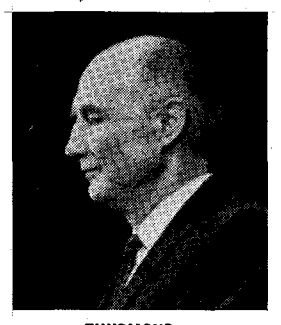
The *Post* generally ignores the danger arising from the fact that half the directors would be chosen by the President with the other half selected by the President's own appointees. But it sees other troublesome aspects of this grandiose plan. "Its vulnerability," says the *Post*, "springs from the source of its funds. The Congress that confers an excise tax can as easily take it away, if and when the network invites congressional displeasure. . . .

"The excise tax has another defect. What is going to be produced here is a television program concentrating on . . . matters that, presumably, will not have a popular or mass audience. So the masses who do not wish to view it or listen to it will pay for it. It is an ingenious system of taxing the poor to furnish culture to the rich."

Or, they might have added, a way to tax conservatives to provide "news" programs for liberals.

Treaty Trap

It has not been noted by the general press, but Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) has demolished the State Department's argument that the American-Soviet Consular Convention is essential to secure protection for the increasing number of American citizens travelling to the Soviet Union.



THURMOND

No new agreement, Thurmond told his colleagues last week, "should be needed for the protection of American citizens travelling in the Soviet Union. We already give Soviet nationals in the United States the advantage of broad, democratic rights, including prompt notification to Soviet officials when a Soviet national is arrested. The Soviets ought to do the same thing without a treaty, simply on the basis of reciprocity."

Thurmond revealed to his fellow lawmakers, moreover, that protection for American nationals in the Soviet Union has actually been recognized in the famous Roosevelt-Litvinov agreements in 1933, but that the Soviets have brazenly violated these accords right on down to the present time.

On Nov. 16, 1933, noted Thurmond, Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet Peoples Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and President Franklin Roosevelt exchanged memoranda setting forth conditions for the diplomatic recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the United States. The documents discussed the possible negotiation of a consular convention, but even though the treaty was never specifically negotiated, Litvinov promised that the rights of nationals of the United States would be recognized "upon the establishment of relations between our two countries." In other words, the protection would be granted merely upon the condition of diplomatic recognition.

What kind of protection did Litvinov promise? Litvinov, Thurmond noted, called Roosevelt's attention to an agreement between the Soviet Union and Germany, signed on Oct. 12, 1925. American rights would become equal to those of Germany, "the most favored nation."

The language of this agreement is almost identical to the protective clauses of the 1964 consular treaty signed with the Soviets in Moscow. This 1925 agreement read in part:

"In places of detention of all kinds, requests made by consular representatives to visit nationals of their country under arrest, or to have them visited by their representatives, shall be granted without delay."

Taking Litvinov at his word, President Roosevelt replied: " . . . We shall expect that the nearest American diplomatic or consular officer shall be notified immediately of any arrest or detention of an American national, and that he shall promptly be afforded the opportunity to communicate and converse with such national."

Moreover, the U.S. State Department, itself, subsequently treated the agreement of Nov. 16, 1933, as a binding document.

Despite the sweeping assurances of the Soviets, plus Litvinov's memoranda guaranteeing the rights of American nationals, the Soviets quickly broke their word.

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In the official publication *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, the Soviet Union, 1939,* there is recorded extensive diplomatic correspondence over Soviet violations of the 1933 agreement. Equally as intriguing, in light of the State Department's present stand, is that Secretary of State Cordell Hull held that the rights of American nationals were inviolable even if Litninov had *never written his memorandum of Nov. 16, 1933.*

Writing to the American ambassador in Moscow in 1938, Hull instructed him: "You should not, however, say anything that would imply that this letter [of Litvinov] is the only basis for this government's request and you should make it plain, if necessary, that this government would expect the granting of such permission even in the absence of all written guarantees."

With the Soviets having consistently broken the 1933 agreement, asked Thurmond, how can we expect them to live up to the 1964 Convention? In fact, they have already broken it.

The 1964 treaty, Thurmond noted, has been signed for 30 months, and there have been 20 cases of Americans detained by Soviet police. "In none of these cases," Secretary of State Dean Rusk admitted on January 23 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "did the Soviet authorities adhere to the standards of notification and access provided for by this convention."

Remarked the South Carolina lawmaker: "I ask, then, does this show good faith on the part of the Soviets? I grant that the treaty is not yet in force, but it would not hurt the Soviets to demonstrate their eagerness to abide by its provisions. . . ."

Thurmond added: "The Soviet Union is not prepared to afford U.S. citizens these elementary rights. The main interest of the Soviet Union in negotiating the Consular Treaty is in securing diplomatic immunity for its consular personnel, an immunity never before granted on such a broad basis. Since 1957 alone, according to FBI statements, 28 Soviet diplomats have been arrested or expelled for crimes, including espionage.

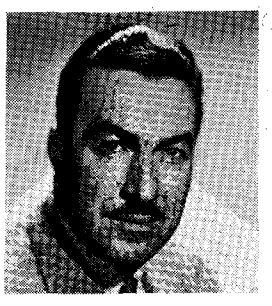
"This treaty would grant to Soviet charwomen in Soviet consulates the same immunity from prosecution now enjoyed only by recognized diplomatic personnel. No other consular convention has ever suggested such a sweeping grant of immunity. . . .

"This immunity from prosecution for espionage is the sole aim of the Soviets in negotiating this treaty. Ambassador Foy Kohler has testified that this extraordinary proposal for immunity originated from the Soviet side. It was, in fact, the thing they bargained for."

The new light that Thurmond has shed on the treaty, say some politicos, may encourage some of the waverers in the Senate to oppose the convention when the measure comes to a vote.

Powell's Pinkish Lawyers

"You'd almost think Adam Powell didn't want his seat," a Democratic congressman observed last week. With mail to Capitol Hill running heavily against him, the dapper politician from New York's Harlem continues to thumb his nose at Congress.



POWELL

Powell's performance at last week's meeting of the Celler committee was incredible. The committee had been stacked 5 to 4 with liberal Democrats who were expected to seat Powell after a perfunctory investigation.

But Powell showed up with a battery of lawyers and defied the committee by refusing to answer a single major question. Ignoring a warning by chairman Celler that he was damaging his chances of regaining his seat, Powell said that as an "oppressed black man" he would give the committee no cooperation at all.

Unreported in the press is the fact that Powell's legal advisers include two men skilled in the practice of defying Congress — Arthur Kinoy and William Kunstler.

Kinoy is the veteran leftist who was convicted last summer of disorderly conduct after disrupting a session of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Kunstler "starred" in the same hearings, storming out of the committee room after delivering a "spontaneous" speech that had earlier been mimeographed and distributed to the press.

• President Johnson last week proposed that Congress vote a $6.2-billion foreign aid program for the next two fiscal years. In a special message, the President said that a two-year authorization was necessary to provide continuity for sound management. Congress has never voted more than a one-year authorization, except for certain specified provisions of the aid program. A number of lawmakers have reacted sharply to the two-year proposal, saying Congress should be able to scrutinize the foreign aid budget every year.

Both Kinoy and Kunstler have lengthy records of radical activity. Kinoy, whose clients have included atom spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, has been affiliated with such cited Communist operations as the National Lawyers Guild, the American Student Union and the *National Guardian.* Kunstler has addressed the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties, a cited group, and was active in the clemency appeals for Carl Braden and Morton Sobell.

A third attorney advising Powell is Hubert T. Delaney, a veteran radical whose record of pro-Communist activity measures one and a half inches thick in government files. Delaney has been affiliated with the following officially cited Communist fronts: National Lawyers Guild, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, Council on African Affairs, George Washington Carver School, American League for Peace and Democracy, Southern Conference on Human Welfare and the Co-ordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo.

The presence of Kinoy, Kunstler and Delaney as Powell's legal advisors may help explain his studied defiance of the committee. For the radical left would actually prefer Powell be denied his seat so that he could be exploited as a political martyr—a victim of what the Communist press terms a "judicial lynching."

Soviet ABM Advances

As Congress cranks up for a fight on America's defense posture, New York *Times* military editor Hanson W. Baldwin has written an alarming article regarding Soviet advancement in the development of an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system.

Baldwin says Defense Secretary Robert McNamara has resisted technological innovation in our strategic nuclear systems on the theory that such innovation would provoke the Soviets into escalating the arms race, but the Soviets, apparently, have been escalating even without being provoked.

America's intelligence community, says Baldwin, has discovered that the Soviets have deployed the beginnings of an ABM (called Tallinn) system in a wide arc across the northwestern part of the Soviet Union. This covers the missile window, or angle of arc, through which United States land-based missiles would have to approach their targets.

"But in addition to these deployments," says Baldwin, "installations identified as being of the Tallinn type have been discovered east of the Ural Mountains.

"There are also reports of such installations in the southern part of the Soviet Union in position to defend against attacks from the Mediterranean area."

While there is disagreement over the effectiveness of the present system, Baldwin writes that "Most of the intelligence community in the Pentagon believe the Tallinn system represents at least the initial deployment of what they think is an anti-ballistic missile system of a new type. . . ."

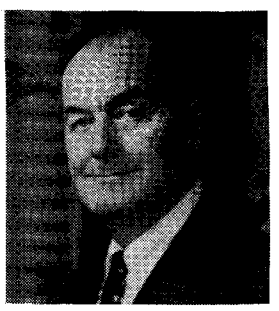
The Soviet Union is escalating the arms race in other ways as well. It has, for example, greatly increased its number of offensive long-range missiles and is still placing them in hardened sites. Moreover, the Soviets are actively engaged in developing multiple individually guided re-entry vehicles (MIRV), or missiles that unleash multiple war heads.

Fixed targets unprotected by an ABM system, says Baldwin, would be vulnerable to this sort of weapon. "In fact, MIRV complicates and multiplies the problems of the defense so greatly that some military experts believe the threat must be met by an increase in United States land-based intercontinental ballistic missile launching sites or by a missile defense system specifically for the protection of American missile silos. . . . Some observers believe that the development by the Soviets of a multiple individually guided re-entry vehicle would make the current United States land-based missile complex obsolete."

• The United States, says Baldwin, is trying to design new ways to shield our ICBMs from Soviet ABM defenses. "But the paucity of accurate information about effects of high-altitude atomic explosions," Baldwin adds, and "the atmospheric nuclear test ban that outlaws such developmental tests mean, in the words of one expert, that 'there is just no way to know if the solutions are valid.'"

LBJ's Fiscal Trickery

As the House side was debating raising the debt ceiling last week, Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.), ranking Republican on the Finance Committee, assailed the "fancy style bookkeeping" the Johnson Administration is using to cover up the deficit.



WILLIAMS

Instead of using the familiar administrative budget, which projects $135 billion in expenditures and an $8.1-billion deficit, Williams pointed out that LBJ is referring to the national income budget. Under this accounting device, the President has projected fiscal 1968 expenditures at $169.2 billion and income at $167.1 billion, leaving a deficit of "only" $2.1 billion.

Not so, the Delaware senator charged. In order to arrive at this $2.1-billion claimed deficit for 1968, he said, the Administration is including in its own computation all the surplus that may be generated in the numerous trust funds which it is now administering. Yet, said Williams, the government has no right to tap these trust funds to cover general spending.

The taxes used to build up the unemployment fund, he noted, are paid by employers; there is no government money whatsoever in this fund. The government, however, estimates it will have a $1.7-billion surplus in this fund in fiscal 1968. It also estimates a surplus in the highway trust fund, the veterans national mortgage insurance fund, etc.

"Altogether in the budget," said Williams, "the Administration is counting $4.617 billion in trust fund receipts as though they were general revenue. This $4.617 billion is used to reduce the deficit which will be reported to the taxpayers. . . .

"The government is the trustee of these funds, and it has no right to use the proceeds of these trust funds for regular expenditures."

Williams also attacked other gimmicks under this new accounting. Suppose, he said, a nuclear battleship costing $300 million takes three and one-half years to build. Suppose, he added, we are paying over the years, as it progresses, $95 million in 1966; another $95 million in 1967, another $95 million in 1968 and in 1969 we take title to the ship by paying the remaining $15 million.

"Under all budget procedures heretofore, the Administration would appropriate this $95 million in each year as the accounts were paid. As each payment was made it would be counted as an expenditure, but under the national income budget as these items are paid they are not counted as expenditures until the final payment is made and the government takes delivery of the ship.

"This has the effect of delaying the recording of expenditures in an expansion of the Viet Nam war with the full impact of such expenditures being shown in later years.

"If the officers of any American corporation tried to change its bookkeeping system overnight and deceive stockholders in any such manner, they would end up in a federal penitentiary and be prosecuted by the same government which is following that practice here."

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Mr. Mulvena Learns the Hard Way

How the Russians Use Their Trade Missions

By FREDERIC NELSON

On January 25 in Chelmsford, England, a businessman named Cecil William Constant Mulvena was sentenced to four years in prison for obtaining a fraudulent passport. Mr. Mulvena had got the passport for a visiting Russian who assured Mr. Mulvena that it was needed by his nephew who was attempting to escape from the Socialist Paradise. It turned out, of course, that there was no nephew, but that the passport was to be used by a Soviet agent. He is assumed to be still at large and at work in Great Britain.

All this is normal procedure in the cold war, but the cream of the jest is that the Russian who persuaded Mr. Mulvena to break the laws of his country was a member of a Soviet trade mission assigned to promote trade with the British.

Mr. Mulvena was tempted not only by the story about the fictitious nephew, but by assurances that he would be given the exclusive agency for dealing with cargoes from Russian ships unloaded at British ports! The prosecutor, in his summing up, said that "Russians are past masters at the utterly unnecessary use of cloak-and-dagger methods to play on the vanity of people in this country."

"Utterly unnecessary" is the key phrase. With the West tumbling over itself to deal with the Soviet conspirators, why the cloak-and-dagger methods? Unless, of course, the trade bit is a cover for operations far more important than the unloading of a little caviar.

That this is possible is suggested by an earlier episode in Great Britain: the escape last October of Soviet spy George Blake from the Wormwood Scrubs prison where he was supposed to spend the next 40 years.

It is not known what Soviet agents or domestic traitors engineered this coup, although the arrival in England of a master intelligence expert from the USSR might have alerted British officialdom to the probability that something unusual was up. Blake was eased over the prison wall into a waiting automobile, given a false passport and a facial make-over and bundled onto an airplane bound for Frankfurt, Germany. On arrival in Frankfurt he was greeted by two Czechs who turned on the cordiality, as the London *Telegraph* correspondent put it, "to make the incident appear a normal meeting between friends."

Here is the pay-off: "The Czechs, in West Germany on *a trade and economic mission,* drove him away in a dark-colored Mercedes."

Blake is now assumed to be carrying on his operations in East Berlin. The German magazine *Der Spiegel* credits him with knowing "the entire allied secret service network in West Germany and West Berlin" and suggests that his escape was engineered in an effort to discover what kind of information he had leaked to British agents before his arrest. All in all, a valuable man to have at the home office.

For the West, now under a heavy propaganda barrage to expand trade and economic dealings with the Communist empire, the moral would seem to be that the Communist conception of the duties of a trade mission are somewhat different from the ideas that prevail in the West.

To the Red operators it is normal to use an economist as a front in the springing of a spy from a British jail—or to involve a British businessman in a passport fraud for the benefit of the Soviet spy ring.

It doesn't seem exactly fantastic to imagine that similar uses would be made of Soviet officials assigned to the new consulates which President Johnson and a pack of liberal optimists are trying to persuade Congress to set up.

To the New York *Times* the idea that there could be spies in the woodwork is a "myth" which FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover had the "effrontery" (the *Times's* word for it) to bring up. Mr. Hoover and several obsolescent politicians are, according to this newspaper, "trying to exploit a primitive anti-communism," when every enlightened person knows that communism is a dead pigeon.

This propaganda is, of course, a part of our "search for peace" which involves surrendering our one successful military procedure (bombing of military emplacements in North Viet Nam), unsupervised agreements on nuclear testing, and refusal to set up an anti-missile defense lest we set the USSR a bad example. (But the USSR goes ahead with its own anti-missile program, bad example or no bad example!) In the meantime Americans are supposed to labor under a crushing weight of guilt because the Communists thumb their noses at our "signals" for quasi-surrender.

When FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover mentioned "spies" in connection with the consular treaty, the New York Times attacked his "effrontery."

There used to be a smoking car anecdote about a French Canadian night watchman who came home one morning to find a fellow day-time worker in guilty dalliance with his wife. When the husband expostulated, the invader rushed at him and planted a right to the jaw. The poor man still protested that this was a heck of a way to treat an old friend. This time the shameless adulterer grabbed him by the scruff of the neck and tossed him down the stairs. The miserable man picked himself up from the floor, shook his fist at the gloating enemy and shouted, "Jules Brevard, someday you will go too far!"

This crypto-Chaucerian tale comes to mind in connection with current self-abnegating gestures by the West in its "search for peace." What do we need to convince ourselves that you don't win even a diplomatic game by throwing in a good hand before you are called?

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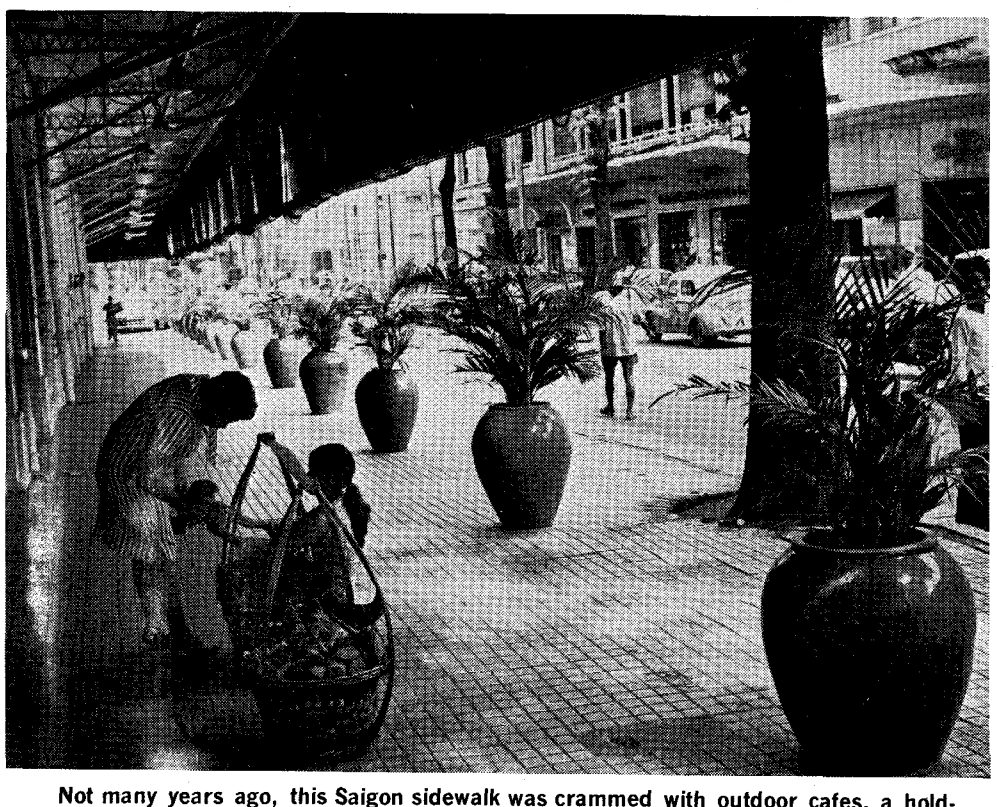

Not many years ago, this Saigon sidewalk was crammed with outdoor cafes, a holdover of French influence in Indochina. But no more—sidewalk cafes were too tempting a target for the Viet Cong.

While de Gaulle Drains Our Gold

U.S. Pouring Economic Aid Into Former French Colonies

From the Allen-Scott Report

The United States is pouring hundreds of millions of dollars in economic and other aid into France's former colonies and other possessions.

Since 1962 the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations have spent more than $910 million of foreign aid funds for this purpose. Last year alone, these outlays amounted to $147.3 million.

During this five-year period, while the U.S. was bolstering the economies and averting starvation in France's one-time African dependencies, President de Gaulle drained more than $3 billion from this country's gold reserve, haughtily booted out of France scores of NATO bases, depots and other installations built by the United States at immense cost, flatly refused to resume payment on more than $6.58 billion in defaulted World War I debts, and is stridently assailing U.S. policy in Viet Nam and elsewhere.

To Rep. Vernon Thomson (R.-Wis.), member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, these extraordinary contradictions don't make sense.

He sees utterly no reason why the U.S. should be supplying large-scale aid to former French possessions when France has never been more prosperous and well heeled. Its industry and trade are booming, it has the strongest balance-of-payments surplus in the world, and after the United States and Russia the largest gold reserve—$5.745 billion.

As of Jan. 1, 1967, the U.S. reserve had sunk to around $13.25 billion—a loss of more than $1.5 billion in the previous 18 months.

It is Thomson's emphatic contention that the time has come to deal with de Gaulle on his own terms—and not as a reliable and cooperative ally. The Johnson Administration should initiate immediate steps to:

(1) End foreign aid to France's one-time dependencies; (2) require France to start paying off its long overdue $6.58 billion in World War I debts.

For this purpose, Rep. Thomson is reintroducing his joint resolution directing President Johnson to "take all appropriate steps to require France to pay its past due debts to the United States."

"If France has so many extra American dollars with which to raid our gold reserve," says the former Wisconsin governor, "I think we should inform President de Gaulle that from now on these dollars will be applied not against our gold but against France's long delinquent World War I debt."

Such a forceful crackdown, coupled with shutting off aid to France's one-time colonies, will demonstrate conclusively that the U.S. means business—in the de Gaulle manner.

"The least de Gaulle can do," asserts Thomson, "is to support his own dependencies. Let him use his own gold to take care of his own. It is about time the U.S. government takes positive and concrete action to compel him to do this. There is no reason on earth why the United States should be carrying the financial burden of supporting France's former colonies and protectorates while de Gaulle refuses to pay his long-defaulted debts and builds a huge gold reserve at our expense.

"For nearly 50 years," declares Thomson, "the U.S. has done more for France than any nation has ever done for another. France has grown strong with a stable currency because of unbounded American generosity and help. Twice our country has saved France from subjugation at great cost in lives and treasure. More than 60,000 American servicemen are buried in France.

"In the face of de Gaulle's haughty and crass ingratitude, the time has long passed when he should receive the special treatment accorded to a friendly ally and sincere associate. The time has come to deal with him on the same terms he deals with us—cold turkey and no favors."

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Hoffa and the FBI

A publisher's charges have added troubling dimension to the controversy

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

The case of James R. Hoffa, which began as Bobby Kennedy's war against the Teamster chief, has taken on new and troubling dimensions. They involve the integrity of the FBI and of a publisher who has stood up for Mr. Hoffa's right to a fair trial. So Mr. Hoffa, even though his personal liberty is at stake, becomes almost a secondary issue.

The facts are these: When Bobby Kennedy, then the attorney general, decided to go all-out after Mr. Hoffa, he set up a special three-man unit which became known as the "get Hoffa squad." We know this from Edwyn Silberling, who was, at the time, head of the Justice Department's Crime and Racketeering Section. We also know from Mr. Silberling that Bobby was urging his investigative units to use all kinds of electronic devices to eavesdrop on their targets.

If this is not sufficient evidence, there are clear indications in the record of Mr. Hoffa's various trials that electronic intercepts were being used. The trials themselves are classics in the maladministration of justice. The federal court that convicted Hoffa of jury-tampering consistently ruled out evidence vital to Mr. Hoffa's defense.

So blatant was this that even the American Civil Liberties Union filed a brief in Jimmy Hoffa's behalf, when his case reached the Supreme Court, arguing that he had been deprived of his constitutional rights by the trial court. The court sustained the Hoffa conviction.

Jimmy Hoffa charges that Justice Department 'bugging' led to his conviction.

Now Mr. Hoffa is seeking a new hearing before the high court. To this end, his lawyers presented an affidavit from William Leob, publisher of the Manchester (N.H.) *Union Leader* in which he swore that on Tuesday, Dec. 20, 1966, at approximately 4 p.m., he had a conversation with Cartha D. DeLoach, third-ranking man in the FBI and one frequently named as J. Edgar Hoover's heir.

In this conversation, according to Mr. Loeb's affidavit, Mr. DeLoach told him that Bobby Kennedy had a special three-man wire-tapping and electronic bugging team which operated against Mr. Hoffa and his colleagues during the Hoffa trial.

Mr. DeLoach suggested, Mr. Loeb attests, that if Mr. Hoffa's lawyers were to press the Justice Department to investigate what had been done by Bobby Kennedy during those trials, they would uncover this wiretapping. Proof in Mr. Hoffa's hands would, at the least, win him a new trial under circumstances less prejudicial to his rights and in line with Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence.

The Loeb affidavit was a bombshell. But it was followed immediately by Mr. DeLoach's flat denial of Mr. Loeb's account of the meeting in the FBI building. Mr. Loeb reacted promptly. In a telegram to Mr. DeLoach, he repeated the gist of his affidavit and added:

"I challenge you to take a lie detector test. I am perfectly willing to take such a test. I am not worried about my reputation for veracity, or your challenge to it, but the question of whether a man goes to prison or doesn't go to prison is at stake here. Of equal importance, also, is the fact that you are frequently mentioned. . . as Mr. Hoover's successor as head of the FBI. It is therefore important that, if you are to succeed Mr. Hoover, it be determined right now whether you have told the truth in this situation."

These are the "new and troubling dimensions" noted in my lead paragraph. It is difficult for me to comment because both Mr. Loeb and Mr. DeLoach are my friends. But the importance of what is at issue here transcends any personal considerations. I feel that I must speak out—and my record as a defender of the FBI against unjust criticism is there to protect my motives.

The future of the FBI is too important for responsible Americans to allow this controversy to remain unresolved, as I am sure Bill Loeb and Deke DeLoach would agree. Mr. Loeb is fully aware of this, and he is pressing for a hearing before the committee headed by Sen. Edward V. Long (D.-Mo.) which is investigating wire-tapping and bugging by federal agencies. Certainly Mr. Long could call both Mr. Loeb and Mr. DeLoach to testify under oath. Mr. Silberling, who has inside knowledge of the workings of the Justice Department under Bobby Kennedy, would be a valuable witness in this inquiry, and he should also be subpoenaed.

It would be an unpleasant task—even as writing this column is unpleasant. But one or the other has been done an injustice—and the attempts by certain writers to make Mr. Loeb's affidavit disappear by slyly insinuating that he "owes Hoffa money" do not help. Mr. Loeb's paper did borrow money from the Teamsters Union pension fund, which, like other pension funds, puts its money to work by lending it much as a bank does. This fact is known because two years ago Mr. Loeb made it public in his own newspaper, and it has nothing to do with the case.

The next move is up to Sen. Long.

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Does Gunnar Myrdal Speak for the World?

By ALICE WIDENER

Why is so much publicity given to foreign critics of our Viet Nam policy and so little to those foreigners who understand and support it?

The National Committee and New York Council for a Sane Nuclear Policy held a rally in Manhattan last December where the main speaker was the well-known Swedish Socialist, Gunnar Myrdal. He bitterly attacked our Viet Nam policy and charged it has caused "the world to disassociate itself from official American policy."

Never one to question his own personal competence to speak for "the world," Mr. Myrdal says our Viet Nam policy "tends to confirm the old stereotype about the Americans as emotionally immature, morally careless, intellectually naive and politically unwise. . . ."

Leaping from peak to peak of denunciation, Mr. Myrdal continued, "The popular resistance to trusting the United States as leader is spreading and everywhere intensified. Without followers, the leader is no longer a leader, but only an isolated aberrant. And if he then is strong like America, he becomes a dangerous aberrant, dangerous for himself and for the world."

Nobody in New York, Washington, D.C., or elsewhere at home spoke up in outraged rebuttal to Myrdal's mischievous misrepresentation of Americans. But someone in Denmark did, a distinguished person who really took Myrdal apart and showed what makes Myrdal tick-tick-tick away, year in and out, with his meddling in American affairs.

After his New York speech was printed in the Danish magazine *Politiken,* Jan. 9-10, 1967, it was followed by an article in reply written by the Honorable Viggo Starcke, former minister in the Danish government, who really let Myrdal have it.

Mr. Starcke's article is so brilliant that the full text should be broadcast by the Voice of America and published widely in our press.

Concerning Myrdal's criticism of American "militarism," Mr. Starcke writes, "Sweden does not participate in the Atlantic Pact but leans its back against it, nevertheless. Hence Prof. Myrdal's indignation is cheap and his criticism gratuitous. His talk defending democracy, human dignity and civil rights may be genuine, but why does he avoid calling attention in his speech to the fact that he owes to America's strength and broadmindedness his freedom to make speeches in New York, and his freedom to speak one's mind would not be possible."

Our eminent Danish defender goes on to say that Myrdal is ready to talk about Viet Nam, "but does not say a word of what has happened in China, Mongolia, Korea, Laos, Malaya, Indonesia, the Congo, Egypt, Cuba and Tibet. Why does Prof. Myrdal not mention this?"

Continuing, Viggo Starcke says, "What other great power besides America has been a victor in two world wars without expanding its territory? This should be mentioned when accounts are balanced. It should instill respect and confidence. When Prof. Myrdal spoke in New York, he forgot to thank America.

"As for the Communists, few powers in the course of so short a time have subjugated so many peoples, such enormous territories, such aggregations of human beings. This must also be included in the accounting. The strangest thing is that it is the Communist countries that scream 'imperialists!' and 'aggressors!' at America.

"It is to be hoped that Prof. Myrdal is naive, but he knows too much to be able to make the rest of us believe it. It is therefore too bad that one is forced to say concisely and sharply that his observations and reflections are either pseudoscientific or insincere."

The sincerity and factuality of Viggo Starcke's rebuttal to Swedish Socialist Myrdal's attack on us gives the lie to Myrdal's claim that "the world is against us because of our action in Viet Nam.

Mr. Starcke writes, "No wonder that little South Viet Nam appealed to America for help. Without it, it would long ago have been 'liberated,' which means swallowed up and devoured. . . . America is right in taking the stand that Communistic imperialism must be stopped. If Myrdal does not think that Viet Nam is the place it should be stopped, where would he then recommend that it be done? Or should Communist imperialism not be stopped at all? So far as is known, Prof. Myrdal is not a Communist, but he shows up with the same set of standard phrases as the Communists—one-sided, incorrect accusations of imperialism and aggression. . . ."

We Americans can and should disdain the claim that "the world" is against us in Viet Nam. Thanks to a distinguished Dane, Viggo Starcke, and to other eminent friends with courage to speak out, Myrdal's Socialist pontifications are valued for the prejudiced, ungrateful anti-Americanisms that they are.

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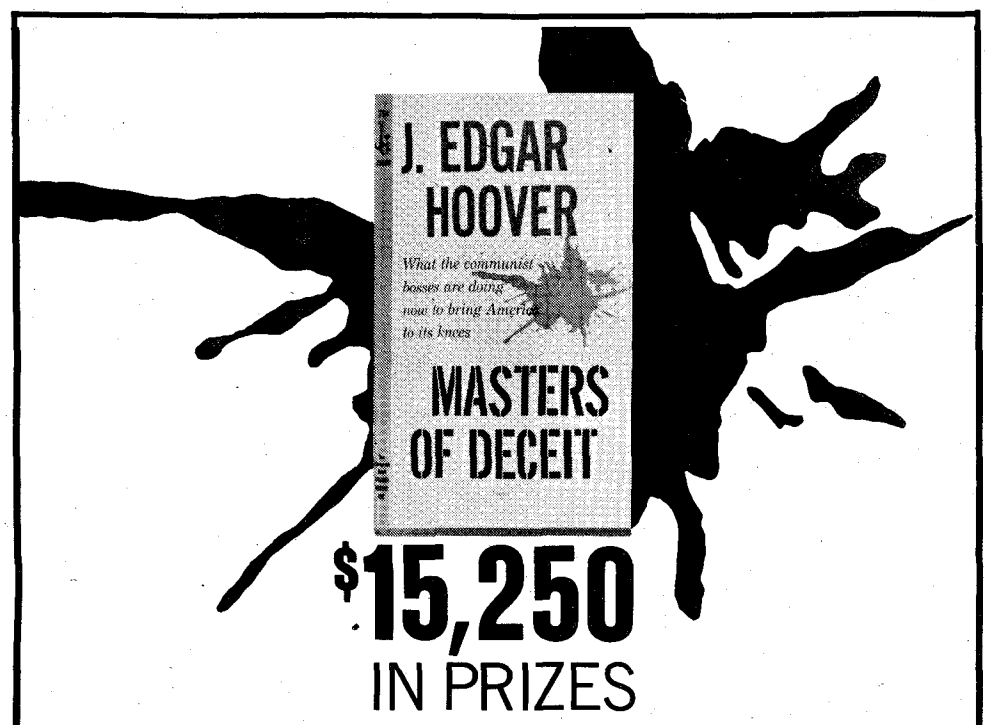

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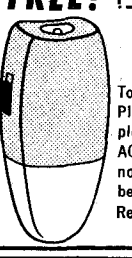

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What's Wrong With the U.S. Post Office?

Despite promises to the contrary, the department is now planning big increases for businesses already saddled with heavy ZIP Code expenses.

By ROBERT D. KEPHART

For two weeks last October, the postal service in Chicago completely collapsed. Unfortunately this was not an isolated incident, but only the most severe manifestation of the seriously deficient conditions prevailing throughout the U.S. Post Office.

In a very revealing article in *Saturday Review*, free lance writer Charles Remsberg described those two weeks of chaos in Chicago:

". . . the world's largest post office had all but broken down. Outside the building railway cars and semi-trailers were crammed with mail, but there were no workers to unload them. Docks and sorting room floors were jammed with more than five million letters, parcels, circulars and magazines that could not be processed. Gray mountains of outbound mail sacks filled storage garages and the staggering backlog mushroomed by the minute.

"Before long, 10 million pieces of mail were sitting in the post office, untouched from one day to the next . . . over 60 acres of work space were domi - nated by overwhelming mountains of mail. Some stacks of parcel post and bulk matter towered 30 feet high and 50 feet long. Walkways were squeezed so narrow that workers had trouble getting through with hand carts. When space ran out in the main building, thousands of bags were heaped in the postal garage and when that was full, mailers were told to stockpile mail on their own premises."

Not unexpectedly, the Post Office Department blamed the extraordinary Christmas mail volume. Unexplained by the public relations hawks was how privately operated facilities such as the telephone and telegraph companies, railroads, bus companies and retail stores of all kinds experience identical seasonal increases, but manage to avoid catastrophe.

In the weeks following the Chicago breakdown, investigation turned up many contributing factors, among which were these:

• The Chicago Post Office had done little or nothing to develop adequate job training programs for its employes. Chicago Postal Union leaders cited cases of letter carriers so uninformed about the handling of misaddressed mail that it ended up being "hidden" in trash cans, and of clerks who could route only mail bearing ZIP codes, presumably because they could read only digits.

Although Postmaster General Larry O'Brien noted that his department cleared a record amount of mail in 1966, much handling of the mail hasn't really changed since Pony Express days.

• A breakdown in supervision brought about by "liberalized" discipline procedures and the tendency of the Postal Union to turn nearly every reprimand into a *cause celebre*. Most supervisors took the hint and decided it wasn't worth the effort to enforce rules. A system of near anarchy prevailed.

• Toleration of absenteeism: Unexcused and unexplained absences of as long as two months, without disciplinary action being taken, were common. Some days during the October crisis a scheduled work force of 10,000 would be reduced as much as 10 per cent by unexplained absenteeism.

• Simmering racial tensions. Predominantly white supervisors had become afraid to enforce discipline upon the Negro employes who make up 65 per cent of the work force. Remsberg reports that at the height of the October breakdown, "a Negro mail handler named Robert Lucas, who doubles as head of the Chicago chapter of CORE, threw pickets around the building and declared—without evidence, he now privately admits—that the mail emergency was deliberately plotted by whites to protest the appointment of [Henry] McGee, the city's first Negro postmaster."

Chicago Only An Example

The breakdown in Chicago and the deteriorating service throughout the nation seem to be more attributable to archaic postal procedures, bureaucratic shortsightedness and lack of planning and research than to the burdens of increasing mail volume.

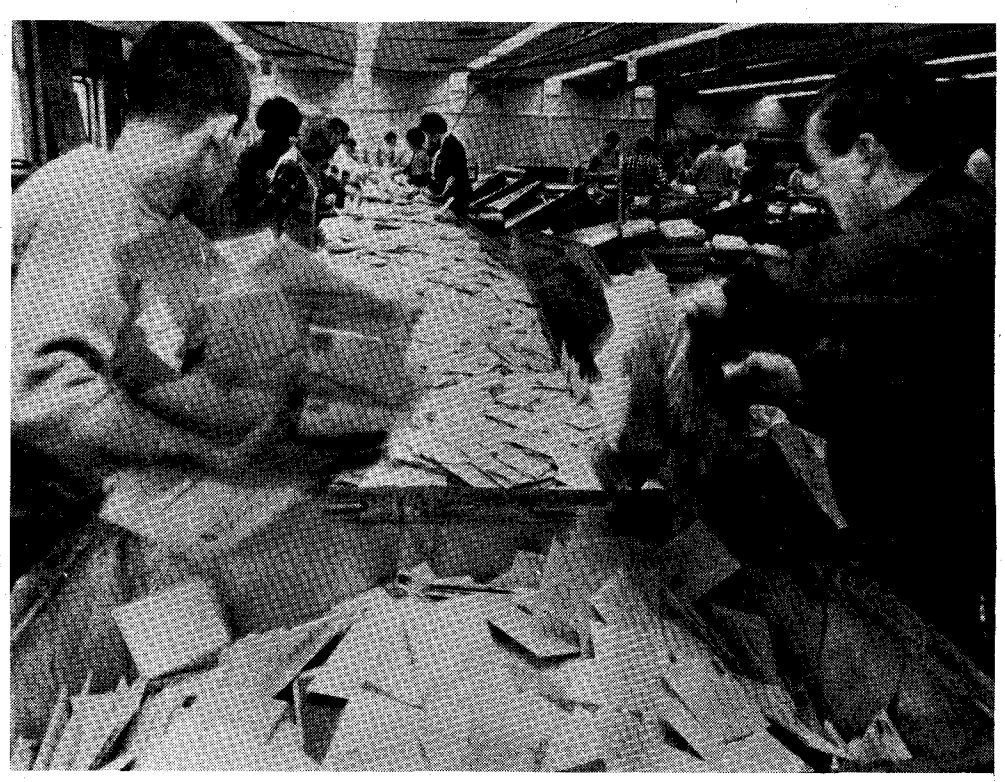
The Chicago incident is only the most conspicuous of literally thousands of examples of postal ineptitude.

For instance:

• Publications mailed at second class postal rates (including *Human Events*), are required to be tied into bundles with the address label of the top copy exposed, when more than six copies are routed to any delivering post office. A paper band is wrapped around these bundles of *Human Events*, upon which is boldly imprinted "POSTMASTER: OPEN BUNDLE AND DISTRIBUTE." Only the blind, illiterate or extremely negligent could overlook it. Yet we have a file brimming with letters from subscribers to whom such bundles, with wrappers intact, have been delivered. Meanwhile, up to 50 other subscribers in the same area will write us to complain about the non-delivery of their issues. Repeated complaints to the Post Office Department have been unavailing.

• In New York City businesses that complain about slow deliveries are told to come down to the Post Office and pick up their mail themselves.

• *Human Events* recently mailed a letter to an official in Washington's main post office. The addressee, the well-known head of a large and important department, had been in the same location for many years. Yet the letter, which was correctly addressed, was returned "addressee unknown." It was finally delivered by messenger to a red-faced official.



Workers at the huge Chicago Post Office struggle to get the massive Christmas mail rush through. Chicago is a large mail redistribution center through which mail for all parts of the country passes.

• Washington, D.C., and its suburbs have some of the poorest mail service in the country. *Human Events* can no longer mail letters across town if next-day delivery is required. In countless cases two days, and sometimes longer, are required for such deliveries, and in several instances valuable documents have been lost in intra-city mail.

• Last year Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien sent to the Washington news media a press release announcing new improvements in mail service. Apparently unwilling to rely on the vicissitudes of the postal service, Lawrence had the releases delivered by messenger.

• A Richmond, Ind., firm last year conducted a study of the postmarks of incoming mail. Examples noted by their survey showed consistent three to five-day delivery from mailing points 13 to 70 miles away.

Complaints At Record High

Every reader of this article will have his own favorite example of postal deficiencies. Rep. H. R. Gross of Iowa, a member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, states that he is currently receiving more complaints of poor postal service than at any time in his 18 years in Congress.

Jerome Keating, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, remarks, "The mail service is the worst I've ever seen, and I've been associated with the Letter Carriers for 42 years."

And Arthur Summerfield, who attacked the bureaucratic problems with businesslike efficiency during his eight-year tenure as postmaster, stated, "I found they ran this place with Oriental lethargy and a passion-packed policy of letting nothing interfere with the red tape."

Another former high official of the Post Office Department recently told *U. S. News & World Report* that in his opinion the principal reason for postal troubles is that each of the last two postmasters general has been only a part-time official. Postmaster General Gronouski's major assignment was political liaison with minority and ethnic groups. His successor, Larry O'Brien, has had as his biggest job pushing "Great Society" legislation through Congress.

Still other experts feel that no significant improvement in the Post Office Department can come until the "spoils system"—political patronage in the appointment of postmasters—is eliminated.

Recently, patronage became involved even in the appointment of part-time summer employes. In early 1965 President Johnson had announced that summer jobs in government must be found for "needy" youths. But the greedy often beat the needy to the trough. Of 8,685 summer jobs eventually filled by the Post Office Department, 3,380 were filled by patronage appointments of senators and congressmen.

Among the "needy" who gained employment in this way were a nephew of Vice President Humphrey, the sons of Congressmen Henry Gonzalez and Richard Fulton, a nephew of the South Dakota Democratic state chairman and the son and niece of millionaire Sen. Hiram Fong.

R & D Skimped

Clearly, an infection permeates the postal bureaucracy at all levels. With 700,000 employes, 100,000 vehicles and 34,000 offices, nobody would deny the scope of their problems. Only American Telephone & Telegraph and General Motors have more employes, and the Post Office Department ranks ahead of U.S. Steel, DuPont and IBM in revenues. But unlike its free enterprise counterparts, the Post Office Department provides a graphic demonstration of Parkinson's Law in operation.

• Among the vivid demonstrations of its short-sighted approach is the absence of emphasis on research and development to seek ways to cope with the

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mounting mail volume. In 1964 mail volume stood at 69.6 billion pieces and by 1966 had risen to 75.8 billion, with 80 billion pieces expected in 1967. And by 1977 an estimated 100 billion pieces of mail will move through the postal service. Yet this year, for the first time, was any real mention made of research and development in post office spending.

The department cannot claim that no money was budgeted by Congress for R & D or that there were not enough funds available. The Post Office Department receives its appropriation in a lump sum which it can spend as it sees fit. Yet, failing to plan ahead, almost nothing was earmarked for research.

A comparison with AT&T is instructive in this regard. Out of an operating budget in 1964 of $6 billion, AT&T spent $69 million on research and development; during the same period the Post Office Department spent only $10.5 million of a $5-billion budget on R & D.

Currently, the Post Office Department is spending $16.1 million, a paltry three-tenths of 1 per cent of its budget on research and development. AT&T invests eight times as much. As AT&T's annual report for 1966 states: "Ability to provide improving service at lower rates depends on . . . innovating drive and continuous investment in more efficient facilities."

Comparison With AT&T

Other comparisons between these two Goliaths—one in the private sector, the other in the public sector—expose still more blemishes in the operations of the Post Office Department.

The David R. Babson Co., renowned statistical authorities, draws some interesting parallels between the two. Both AT&T and the Post Office Department are comparable in size and scope and both deal in communications. While one has been raising its charges, the other has had consistent reductions. One has been operating at a growing deficit, and the other has been contributing more and more in tax revenues to state, local and federal governments. Babson cites these statistics to illustrate the clear superiority of AT&T's operations:

- Between 1932 and 1963, first-class postage increased from 2 cents to 5 cents and airmail postage from 5 cents to 8 cents. During the same period the toll rate for station-to-station calls between Boston and San Francisco declined from $9.50 to $2.25. Hence, while postal rates have increased as much as 150 per cent, long distance charges have declined as much as 76 per cent.

- Between 1930 and 1963 the postal service has increased employment by 73 per cent, while the Bell System increased by 77 per cent. During the same period, there was a 143 per cent increase in mail volume, while the number of telephone conversations increased by 288 per cent. In terms of work per employe, the Post Office Department shows an increase of 40 per cent, the Bell System an increase of 118 per cent.

- Between 1935 and 1963 the Post Office Department accumulated deficits of $10.4 billion. By contrast, during the same period Bell paid cumulative taxes of $22.3 billion (to say nothing of the excise taxes paid by its customers, which would add billions more). While the Post Office Department drained the Treasury of over $10.4 billion, AT&T pumped in more than double that amount.

A taxpayer is surely entitled to wonder, in view of the demonstrable high cost of bureaucratic backwardness, how the delivery of written communications would have fared over the years if we had not been shackled with a government postal monopoly. Would the Post Office Department now be facing a billion-dollar deficit? If private enterprise ran the postal service, would slow, irregular delivery be its hallmark, or would it now feature delivery measured in hours, and complaint-free service?

While the enormous capital investment that would be necessary undoubtedly makes such private ownership unrealistic, it is not unfair to ask the Post Office Department to adopt some of the techniques of private enterprise.

Instead, choosing to ignore the root of its problems in coping with the growing mail volume, the department has seized on a scheme to shift a substantial amount of its work load to the nation's business mailers. This is the ZIP Code system, which became a requirement for second-class (publications) and third-class (business advertising) mailers on Jan. 1, 1967.

The main Post Office Building in Washington, D.C., at far left. Part of the problems with the Post Office arise because its chiefs, like O'Brien and Gronouski before him, have other duties which preclude their giving full time to the Post Office.

The ZIP Code is intended to permit mail to move from origin to destination without intermediate processing. Eventually, optical scanning equipment is supposed to "read" and "sort" the ZIP coded mail to further reduce manual postal operations, but only one such machine is currently in operation, on an experimental basis.

The ZIP system imposes fantastic labor burdens and astounding costs upon nearly all business mailers and may ultimately lead to bankruptcy for many publishers.

Briefly, the ZIP Code requirement forced publishers and other business mailers to add a five-digit code to each name and address on their mailing lists. This number would geographically identify the addressee down to the delivering postal facility. The mailer is further required to presort his mail, bundle it and sack it according to a rigid and complicated formula that would bewilder Houdini.

Staggering ZIP Costs

For publishers, under the pre-ZIP system, there was a potential of one mail sack for each state plus individual sacks for a limited number of large cities. Under the ZIP system, however, there is a potential usage of *930* mail sacks. It resulted, in the case of *Human Events*, in an increase of 800 per cent in bundling and sacking operations.

With only 23 months between the announcement of ZIP and its implementation, rapid and revolutionary systems changes were required of nearly all small publishers.

The initial problem was to add the ZIP Code to the mailing plate. However, the plates used by many publishers were simply not of sufficient capacity or flexibility to accommodate a ZIP Code. For these publishers, a completely new addressing and circulation system had to be developed, always at very great cost. *Human Events*' subscriber records had to be completely transformed in this way and, to provide the operating flexibility now required, the commitment was made to adopt a magnetic tape computer system.

The net cost to *Human Events* of this preparatory work was a staggering $23,000, and might have been even more except for the cooperation of the thousands of subscribers who renewed their subscriptions during October and November, sending along their ZIP codes at the same time.

But as great as these preparatory expenses have been, they are modest compared with the added weekly costs of mailing a ZIP coded issue of *Human Events*. Before ZIP, a mailing crew and a label-affixing machine required an average of 11 hours per week to mail the weekly run. Now an average of 18 machine hours is required and, in addition, 33 to 36 more man hours are consumed in extra bundling and in tracking down the proper one of those 930 sacks in which to place each copy. These added operations will cost *Human Events* an additional *$600 per week,* or over $30,000 per year. Other large mailers, of course, face similar increases.

Furthermore, *Human Events*, like most small publications, acquires new subscribers by mailing subscription solicitations to rented mailing lists at third-class postal rates. Experience has proven this to be by far the most economical means of gaining new readers. But the ZIP Code will now add annual postage and mailing costs of approximately $24,000.

To recap the economic impact of ZIP Code on *Human Events*, then, our 1967 expenses will be increased over 1966 by:

Preparatory systems costs and ZIP coding subscriber list	$23,000
Added costs of mailing issues	30,000
Added promotion costs	24,000
	$77,000

If there was heard no great outcry from business mailers when these staggering cost increases were first announced it was because, until last month, they believed that after shouldering these expenses there would be no increases in second and third-class postal rates. But they underestimated the Post Office Department's capacity for deceit.

When the Post Office Department announced on January 24 that it would ask Congress for 20 per cent to 30 per cent rate increases to become effective in 1968, it reneged on often implied promises to second and third-class mailers that the ZIP Code requirement would eliminate future rate increases—at least for several years.

Back on Feb. 2, 1965, when Postmaster Gronouski first dropped his ZIP Code bomb on business mailers, he stated: "I would be foolish to believe that these decisions will be unanimously popular. Some large volume mailers are not going to find them to their liking. But I must say, in all candor, that they would like the alternatives even less. *And make no mistake about it, the alternative is a sizable rate increase now—and a succession of such increases in the years to come"* (emphasis added).

Again, in March 1966, after O'Brien had succeeded Gronouski, the same point was made in an official POD publication: "In order to continue to qualify for the lower bulk rate," it said, "these [second and third class] volume mailers are required to convert their address files and presort to ZIP Code sequence." The promise to the business mailers was clear: Go along with ZIP Code—let the Post Office shift much of its work to you—and your extra costs will be offset by our not asking you to pay higher postal rates.

But the promise was hollow. The 20-30 per cent increase in the second and third-class rates, if enacted, would add to the enormous costs already imposed on *Human Events,* another $31,000 to $47,000. Other publishers tell us they will experience similar cost increases.

Insolvency Threatens Many

It should be clear from this illustration that publishers are already paying what amounts to a substantial rate increase through the imposition of the ZIP Code. In breaking its implied promise to business mailers the Post Office Department is leading many of them to insolvency.

The magazine publishing industry, into which category *Human Events* falls, is at best a financially precarious one. Industry profits are estimated to average only 1.5 cents per dollar of sales; ideological publications like *Human Events*, lacking the lucrative national advertising enjoyed by other periodicals, would be happy to break even. *Human Events'* losses from operations over the last eight years have been substantial, although in the past two years, through various economies, we had begun to see the light. Added costs from large rate increases will, of course, help reverse this trend.

One need only consider the graveyard of defunct periodicals to understand the threat now posed. Remember *Scribner's, McClure's, Review of Reviews, Collier's, American Magazine, Woman's Home Companion,* and *Coronet?* The *Saturday Evening Post, Harper's* and the *Atlantic Monthly* are among the living dead. The list of periodicals for whom a 20-to-30 per cent postal increase could well sound the death knell is long indeed.

It will be a Pyrrhic victory if in seeking to cure the disease the patient is killed. For in attempting to reduce the postal deficit, even greater amounts of tax revenue could be lost to the government if publications and other business mailers are forced to close their doors.

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Walter Reuther Sets Stage for Launching New 'Union of the Poor'

By VICTOR RIESEL

Rusty-haired Walter Reuther, who has just unleashed his own cultural revolution inside labor, now is playing for big stakes: a third militant, surging union federation built around his massive Auto Workers organization and a Hoffa-less, equally gargantuan Teamsters brotherhood.

That's the consensus in labor's high command which he has been needling for months with rapier-like charges of hardening of their organizational arteries.

Thus, with a new force of some 3.2 million strategically placed followers, Reuther, the incomparable of the 1930s, leader of sitdowns, dynamo of the old CIO, would be free to unleash the mass movement of which he and his younger brother, Victor, have always dreamed.

United Auto Workers head Walter Reuther, left, and his brother Victor have always dreamed of leading their own mass movement.

Unfettered from strong ties with the venerable AFL-CIO, freed from disciplinary necessities of following the leadership of the 72-year-old veteran labor chief George Meany, and finally in a position to ignore directives and policies of the old giant AFL-CIO itself, Walter Reuther will begin a long planned drive for the unionization of millions of poor.

He will parallel this with new thrusts into the fields of white collar and professional employes such as teachers, nurses and employes of the federal government, where his goal in Washington, D.C., alone is 800,000 members.

Of course this would mean that he has to pull out of the 13.5-million-member AFL-CIO. He could slip out of the huge labor network as easily as Houdini did out of a straitjacket. This would be done with a short, simple resolution at the United Auto Workers convention which its executive board has scheduled for April 20. They could just vote to disaffiliate.

Then, the Reuthers, with Jimmy Hoffa hitting the last mile to the Atlanta Penitentiary, could make their pitch for some sort of fraternal arrangement with the neighboring International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Both unions have their national headquarters in Detroit.

There has always been an off-the-record liaison with UAW and the Teamsters. There need not necessarily be any form of affiliation at first. This could come later as Hoffa's influence diminishes.

But the two giant unions would work closely all over the United States.

Such a coalition would make it quite easy for Reuther and his special aides inside the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department—an organization of some six million members with a treasury of $3 million—to move into thousands of "communities of the poor."

Already one of Reuther's veteran organizers, Brendon Sexton, is directing a network stretching from Sleepy Hollows in Kentucky to the congested, teeming ghetto districts such as Watts, West Chicago, and Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant in New York City.

Reuther estimates that there are some 35 million working poor and they could be organized into some 10,000 units in loosely formed quasi-unions. Except for the fact that the workers' alliance of the 1930s was composed of unemployed, Reuther's contemplated network of the 1960s would parallel the alliance and people it with those he calls "the working poor." It could become a mighty force.

All this need not wait until he formally pulls out of the AFL-CIO—if he ever does, which is by no means certain despite his resignation from the vice presidency. He simply could push ahead with his own organizational objectives, despite the fact that he has resigned as chairman of the AFL-CIO's standing committee on organization and economic policy.

Meanwhile he will continue to marshal a war of nerves against the AFL-CIO hierarchy which he claims, in his kindest moments, has become archaic and stuck in the plush of its own special society.

For the moment he is expected to find mighty little support inside the AFL-CIO. However, there are a few leaders who might go along with him. But no one of consequence. Which is why he is expected to turn to that other giant, the Teamsters.

Together they could give the elders of today's labor movement a long run for their money and membership.

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(See Jan. 21 issue HUMAN EVENTS for details)

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Soviets Have Denied Stories

U.S. Intelligence Reveals 11 Cosmonauts Dead

From the Allen-Scott Report

Space and missile accidents in Russia are causing far more deaths than those in the United States.

On the basis of latest U.S. intelligence data, the Soviet has lost at least 11 Cosmonauts since its first space flight in 1960, which was unsuccessful. This has never been publicly admitted, although all the pertinent facts are known to U.S. authorities.

Significantly, five of the Russian Cosmonauts were killed when their spacecrafts failed to go into orbit after reaching heights of several hundred miles. No U.S. astronaut has been lost in flight. The only deaths have been in accidents on the ground and in plane crashes not connected with the space program.

The six other Soviet Cosmonauts lost their lives in a series of mishaps ranging from missiles exploding during countdowns to training incidents involving helicopter crashes.

These and other details of the Russian fatalities are highlighted in a Central Intelligence Agency report prepared for the White House several weeks before the Cape Kennedy disaster that took the lives of Astronauts Virgil Grissom, Edward White and Robert Chaffee.

The CIA study reveals that the U.S. has radio intercepts of the frantic efforts of Soviet ground controllers to contact their Cosmonauts after their spacecraft failed to orbit.

These voice recordings, as well as records of the simultaneous tracking of the spacecrafts, have given the United States indisputable proof of the tightly guarded fatal Russian space accidents.

Several of the Cosmonauts' deaths have further been confirmed by scientists in Iron Curtain countries, and a CIA source who is described as "our most accurate informer on the Soviet space program."

While it has been U.S. policy not to make official announcements regarding fatal Soviet space accidents, the Cape Kennedy tragedy may change this.

Under discussion by an inner Administration intelligence committee is a proposal to provide the House and Senate Space Committees with publishable CIA findings of such Russian mishaps.

Also being deliberated is submitting to these committees during their inquiries of the Cape Kennedy tragedy a report on the 11 Soviet space deaths. One purpose would be to demonstrate that the U.S. space program is still by far the safest.

★ ★ ★

President Johnson's surprise proposal to merge the Labor and Commerce Departments appears to be getting nowhere in Congress.

Democratic leaders have told him they have been unable to find any substantial support for the plan among their rank and file. At a White House conference with the leaders, Speaker McCormack stated that a survey of 100 Democratic congressmen disclosed a majority were either cool or outrightly hostile to the departmental merger.

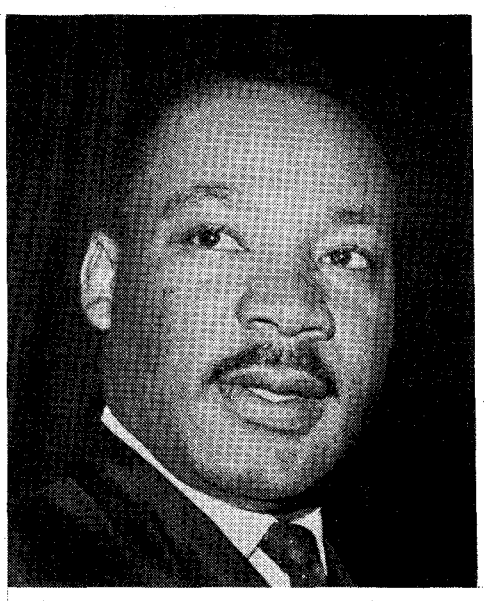
Surprisingly, firm support for the move was among conservative Southerners. With these relatively few exceptions, the other Democratic legislators were distinctly critical. A very similar situation was reported by Senate leaders. They described the attitude in their chamber as "widespread opposition but as yet not vocal."

Democratic members of both the Senate and House Labor Committees were portrayed as "overwhelmingly against this scheme." The Democratic leaders warned the President that this extensive backstage opposition will become much more outspoken as soon as he submits the details of his plan.

It was supposed to be submitted sometime this month. But since the leaders' gloomy report, it is now likely the legislation may not be forthcoming until spring—if then.

★ ★ ★

Dr. Martin Luther King is again trying to maneuver the civil rights movement into taking a leading role in the agitation against the Viet Nam war. He is endeavoring to get Rev. James Bevel, a close associate, named as director of



Martin Luther King is once again trying to take the civil rights movement into the anti-war arena.

the newly formed Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has learned that this new peace organization plans to support anti-war demonstrations and meetings in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago and San Francisco.

Bevel, long active in the civil rights movement, has the job of getting civil rights and student groups to join forces to support King in his attacks on the Viet Nam conflict.

Rev. A. J. Muste, veteran pacifist, told a recent strategy meeting of officials of the newly formed organization that Bevel was selected because of the "desire and need for greater participation of civil rights leaders and forces in the peace movement."

In Bevel's report at a New York meeting of the new organization, he announced his intention to devote full time to the anti-war drive, and that this has the "full approval of Dr. King."

★ ★ ★

The United States is paying the toll both ways for most of the "exchange visits" under President Johnson's much-touted drive to "build bridges to the East."

In addition to paying the cost of sending American cultural, scientific and academic groups to Poland, the U.S. is also footing the bill for bringing Polish scientists, musicians, editors and others to this country.

Their expenses are being paid from funds of the Department of State, Agriculture, and Health, Education and Welfare. In an unpublished report to the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the State Department disclosed that these Polish "cultural" visits cost U.S. taxpayers nearly $100,000 last year. In contrast, the Polish government did not put up a penny for the visits of U.S. "exchange groups."

Since 1957 Poland has obtained $538.23 million in surplus food from the United States. Under a series of eight written agreements, Poland pledged to redeem its payments in zlotys for this food in dollars over a specified period of time. It has failed to live up to these commitments.

Despite these defaults, and the Warsaw regime's extensive aid to North Viet Nam and frequent castigation of U.S. policies, the State Department has done nothing to obtain payment of some $65 million in dollars owed to the United States.

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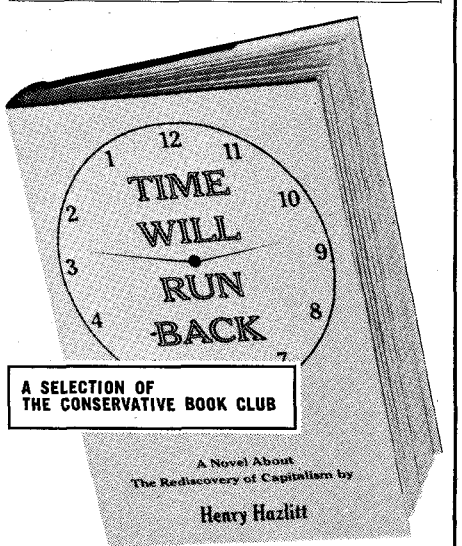
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Dr. Zeligs' Hiss-Chambers Book

Psychoanalysis Is No Substitute for Facts

By SIDNEY HOOK

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There is a wry story analysts tell of a patient who asked: "Doctor, what kind of complex is one suffering from if he believes he is being persecuted—and it's true?"

The jest has a sharp point for some kinds of psychoanalysis. Whether a man is in fact being persecuted ultimately depends on objective evidence. If the evidence shows his belief false, we may inquire about the source of his illusion. Sanity requires that the logic of things be given priority to the logic of emotion.

Sometimes doubt arises, in law as elsewhere, concerning the truth of a witness' testimony about facts that cannot be independently confirmed. The question of his credibility then becomes pertinent. Credibility may be impugned in various ways, occasionally by psychiatric data.

The credibility of the chief witnesses was one of the key issues in the famous trial of Alger Hiss for perjury—really for treason—almost a generation ago.

In the summer of 1948 the country was electrified to hear that Alger Hiss, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, formerly a high official in the State Department and adviser to Edward Stettinius at the Yalta Conference, had been identified as a member of an underground Communist party cell in Washington during the 1930s.

This was the sworn testimony of Whittaker Chambers, a senior editor of *Time*,

Friendship and Fratricide:
An Analysis of Whittaker Chambers and Alger Hiss
By Meyer A. Zeligs, M.D.
476 pp.
The Viking Press, **New York**
$8.95

subpoenaed by the House committee investigating Communist infiltration. Chambers, who had broken with the Communist movement, had previously revealed the names of his Communist confederates to the government in secret at the time of the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939 in hopes they would be removed. But nothing happened. Of those Chambers publicly identified, all but Alger Hiss and his brother invoked the 5th Amendment.

Alger Hiss denounced Chambers' testimony as a complete fabrication and claimed that Chambers' very name meant nothing to him. There developed under the eyes of the country an exciting drama of confrontation between the two men.

As Chambers disclosed more information, Hiss reluctantly admitted to having known him under another name, but merely as a casual acquaintance. Although the web of evidence grew tighter around Hiss, public opinion remained skeptical of the truth of Chambers' testimony.

Hiss challenged Chambers to repeat his charge without the protection of legal immunity. Chambers did so and Hiss, after some delay, sued. In the course of the preliminary examination, after some rough questioning of Mrs. Chambers, Chambers produced memoranda of State Department papers in Hiss' own hand, and confidential typewritten government documents which allegedly had been given him by Hiss.

Chambers, who had not previously charged those he named with espionage, now changed his story. An old Woodstock typewriter of Mrs. Hiss was found by Hiss' lawyers and introduced as evidence. Its keys matched the type of the incriminating documents.

Mr. Hook, professor of philosophy at New York University, is the author of "Paradoxes of Freedom" and editor of "Psychoanalysis, Scientific Method and Philosophy."

Why had Chambers previously withheld the story of espionage? He asserted he bore no personal hostility to Hiss or the others he named but had acted only out of a desire to protect the country from Communist infiltration in sensitive posts. Many were skeptical of this. How, then, explain the apparent evidence against Hiss?

From the very outset, Hiss and his attorneys had sought to discredit the hard material evidence against him by impugning the credibility of Chambers through psychiatric testimony. On Dec. 15, 1948, at grand jury hearings, Hiss requested that his friend, Dr. Carl Binger, a psychiatrist, be heard on Chambers. The following colloquy ensued:

Question: Mr. Hiss, is your psychiatrist in any position to offer information . . . how it came about that the documents, the Baltimore documents [which Chambers alleged he got from Hiss] . . . were written on the same typewriter?

Answer: No, he is not. He can only talk from the standpoint of motive.

Q. . . . motive on whose part?

A. Mr. Chambers.

Q. Has he examined Mr. Chambers?

A. No, he has examined his writings, letters, testimony and everything we have been able to find out about him—his whole career.

Q. Has he had any personal contact with Chambers that you know of?

A. No, he has not been able to . . .

Whereupon the grand jury refused to hear Dr. Binger and indicted Hiss. Nonetheless, Dr. Binger was permitted to testify at length in the second trial.

No sooner did the jury retire, however, than they called for the typewriter. This indicated the weight they gave to the material evidence. The judgment that Hiss was guilty beyond a reasonable doubt has been upheld in face of repeated appeals to the highest courts.

Dr. Meyer Zeligs, a West Coast psychoanalyst, had read about the trials and became interested in them. He was encouraged by his friend and colleague, Dr. Binger, to continue the psychoanalysis of the case.

After many years he has produced this analytic study of the two principals based on numerous interviews with people who knew them, a study of the legal records and of their writings, especially Chambers' autobiography, *Witness*. He takes us back from their adult life to their cradles and even before, to explain the unconscious motives that determined their actions.

Hiss cooperated fully with the author. For five years Zeligs engaged "in close and continuous correspondence" with him and their talks ran for more than a hundred hours. Chambers refused to see Zeligs; and in 1961, shortly after Zeligs began his labors, Chambers died. In consequence, Zeligs puts Chambers' literary works on the couch.

Despite the fact that Zeligs never laid eyes on Chambers, most of the analysis is devoted to him. The analysis of Hiss, for all the hours and letters, is comparatively meager.

Zeligs declares that Chambers' refusal to have anything to do with him "stands in ironic contrast to the cooperation of Hiss." In view of Chambers' experience with Hiss' psychiatric friends, there is nothing strange or ironical about this. One might regard as much more significant the fact that Chambers offered to take a lie detector test, but Hiss refused—and the fact that Zeligs in this huge book nowhere mentions it.

Nor is this the only surprising omission. Hiss was identified as a Communist not only by Chambers and his wife, but by Hede Massing and Nathaniel Weyl, themselves former party members. Here were individuals whose claims to have known Hiss and whose detailed testimony about him are of crucial importance. For if either of them told the truth, Hiss did not.

But Zeligs does not even make reference to the existence of their testimony, although it must have been known to him, since their works are listed in his bibliography. It is obvious that Dr. Zeligs has been very selective in the persons he interviewed; and in every case this reviewer has been able to check, very selective in reporting what was told him.

Zeligs' analysis of Chambers presents him as a dangerous psychopath in the grip of a "paranoid, conspiratorial, persecutory and delusional system of thinking."

It allegedly all began with Chambers' envy of his brother even before his brother was born, and became accentuated in adult life by his sense of guilt at his brother's suicide. Despite his hatred of his brother, this sense of guilt was aggravated by "unconscious" homosexual longings.

In 1934, eight years after his brother died, Chambers moved to Baltimore. According to Zeligs, he developed "an unconscious affinity" for Hiss, then a complete stranger to him, by reading a magazine article about the young men of the New Deal.

Visiting Hiss under an assumed name, Chambers saw in him a "fraternal surrogate" for his dead brother. He imagined a friendship with Hiss, who rented his furnished apartment to him at cost, put his family up in his own flat, made him the gift of a car, lent him money and performed other favors—all out of sheer natural kindness to a casual acquaintance. Chambers' story about Hiss being a member of the Communist underground is dismissed as a paranoid invention. (Zeligs in places even expresses doubt that Chambers himself was a member.)

According to Zeligs' psychoanalytic reconstruction, Chambers' relations with Hiss came to an end after he refused Chambers another small loan, and told him he didn't want to see him again. Rebuffed by his symbolic brother, Chambers thereupon became inspired with a "lifelong grudge."

He forged Hiss' typewriter—in the '30s!—carried it around with him for years, and subsequently planted it where Hiss' lawyers would be sure to find it, bring it into court, and unsuspectingly ruin him. Apparently, whatever his other qualities, Chambers must have had uncanny powers of reading the future.

How does Zeligs seek to establish these conclusions? Very simply. Mainly by *his* own free association, and by fiat.

For example, Chambers claimed he saved his brother from two suicide attempts. But Zeligs writes: "It is postulated [sic!] that Whittaker induced his brother to destroy himself so that he could remain his mother's only child."

What is the evidence that Chambers saw in Hiss a surrogate for his brother and marked him down for ruin? "My postulation is that this did indeed happen." Postulate is piled on postulate.

Charles Peirce, the great American logician and philosopher, once observed that "a postulate is something we *hope* is true."

There is not a shred of *authenticated* material evidence to sustain Zeligs' key postulations. He himself admits, in charging Chambers with fabricating the story of his friendship with Hiss: "On the basis of material evidence alone, such a conclusion would hardly be justified." The material evidence in the case on this and other critical matters is much too substantial. "Postulations" cannot make it disappear or reduce its weight.

In the light of that evidence, and until other evidence is introduced, it is Zeligs' postulations that appear dubious, an analyst's wish-fulfilling fantasies.

Not surprisingly, Hiss comes out of Zeligs' analysis as virtuous as Chambers is vicious, as something of a saint, glorified Boy Scout and Lochinvar. No one could be found who knew anything really derogatory about him.

The analysis confirms the judgment of one of Hiss' cousins. "Alger inherited many of his father's sterling qualities, unselfishness, tolerance and broad outlook." Hiss always had clean and healthy thoughts. He liked his school, his teachers, his fellows, his homework, his recess. "Alger," says Zeligs, "became a model of obedience." Although Hiss' father had committed suicide when Hiss was a child, and his sister when he was adult, and a dearly beloved brother had died after a gay and dissolute life, we are spared any probings of Hiss' subconscious for Oedipal or other incestuous fixations.

Hiss is taken largely at his own evaluations and his minor failings are set out as defects of his virtues. At the worst he appears somewhat priggish.

In places, Zeligs drops the role of analyst for that of outright advocate of Hiss. The unintended result is hardly flattering to Hiss. It makes him too good to be real. He appears devoid of spontaneity, a wary, tightly controlled stuffed shirt, a smiling mask, all super-ego and no id.

Another result is to make the reader suspicious. Did Hiss read Dr. Zeligs' manuscript? Did he reserve the right to reject any of it as the price of his cooperation? Did he exercise this right? The reader is entitled to know. For if the answers are affirmative, then what we have here is an analysis of Hiss (and Chambers) authorized by Hiss, and Dr. Zeligs' claim to "analytic neutrality" is disingenuous.

There is independent evidence that the answers to this question are affirmative. This is in effect an authorized book. As such it is even more objectionable than other authorized books, because the facts have not been fully disclosed.

Unfortunately, there is worse. In a report of an interview with William L. Marbury, Hiss' original counsel in the libel suit against Chambers, and one of his oldest and staunchest friends, Zeligs writes: "Marbury, though he felt Hiss to be innocent of Chambers' charges, suspected Priscilla [Hiss' wife] of some kind of involvement in the case which he felt that Hiss was concealing out of loyalty to her. He felt that when the documents were revealed, that Hiss had not told him 'the whole truth.' "

This reviewer checked with Mr. Marbury, who informed him that the clause "though he felt Hiss to be innocent of Chambers' charges" does not correspond to what he told Dr. Zeligs, who chose to put his own interpretation on what Mr. Marbury actually said.

There is no space here to document the falsity of Zeligs' explicit suggestion that Herbert Packer of the Stanford Law School believes that Chambers forged the Hiss typewriter in the '30s.

Mr. Packer, in his article "A Tale of Two Typewriters," dismisses this as "a wild tale," rejects as unproved all the theories about forged typewriters, and asserts that even if the doubts about the typewriter were well founded, this would not have necessarily exonerated Hiss of involvement in the Communist movement.

In discussing the evidence here, Zeligs frequently equates bare possibilities with likely probabilities. This is the very syndrome of paranoic thinking with which Chambers is charged.

The fact that a book is written in a partisan spirit does not mean it is worthless. Great discoveries have been made by partisan authors. A biased book can even be an honest book if it openly declares its bias and thereby puts us on guard. When, however, a book declares itself neutral, and partisan animus radiates from its pages, it is clear that the author is either deceiving himself or his readers.

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Students recently held a silent vigil at the Berkeley campus to protest the firing of UC President Clark Kerr.

War of the Academic Jungle

After Free Speech and Free Sex—why not Free Tuition?

By MORRIE RYSKIND

I spoke recently of the geographic sanctuary we give the foe in the swamps of Viet Nam and the legalistic one we give the terrorists of our city asphalt jungles.

But they're nothing to the ivy-covered sanctuary of the academic jungle, completely safe from defoliation, where all other laws are secondary to the sacred cow of "academic freedom." This all-inclusive phrase grants academes the diplomatic immunity enjoyed by the representatives of—you should excuse the term—the United Nations.

Currently, the University of California is the main battleground of this war. In 1964 a heroic group of students and non-students alike (we don't pull rank here) revolted against intolerable restrictions and took over the campus, for a while holding the brutal gendarmerie at bay.

True, they had token freedoms. They were free, in many parts of the campus, to praise the DuBois Clubs, denounce American foreign policy, or say anything else that popped into their bright young heads.

But university rules kept some areas off-limits, reserved for administration affairs. And what these young rebels were after was *Lebensraum*—room to spread out. They demanded full citizenship and equal representation with the faculty. In short, one man—student, non-student or prof—one vote.

This Free Speech Movement—and speech has rarely been freer—received full coverage and was cheered by liberals all over the world. And, indeed, a good part of the UC faculty was on the side of the rebels.

But to reactionaries this was anarchy, and they saw only that President Clark Kerr had lost the control it was his duty to maintain. And the ensuing outcry from outraged parents and alumni, as well as the general public who footed Kerr's salary—$45,000—was such that the regents almost ousted Kerr then. Only the "non-political" intercession of Gov. Brown saved him.

But things got no better, and after Free Speech came demonstrations for Free Sex. And one of Ronald Reagan's campaign promises was to clear up the "Berkeley mess." Another, apropos in this context, was to put the state's finances—also badly out of balance—on an even keel, even if he had to jettison some questionable cargo.

Both planks, make no mistake about it, helped to swell Reagan's million plurality. When it came the electorate's turn to demonstrate, the taxpayers clearly said they wanted no part of representation by Mario Savio and Bettina Aptheker; nor did they want an administrator, whatever his academic degrees, who couldn't keep order at UC.

So the regents, heeding the ballots, fired Kerr. And, almost simultaneously, Reagan asked UC, as he asked every other state agency, to pull in its belt. And he suggested that it should charge students—as the overwhelming majority of state-supported universities do elsewhere—some tuition fees.

Well, all hell broke loose with this one-two punch and shrill academic liberals compare the situation, culturally, to the destruction of Alexandria. Kerr's ouster has been branded an act of "political pressure" that will lower our educational standards. The academic senate of Berkeley condemned it (429 to 246) and the American Association of University Professors was "shocked." So, too, was Bettina Aptheker, which rather clinches it.

And, naturally, it is unthinkable that students reared on Free Speech and Free Sex should be deprived of Free Tuition. A student unable to meet the proposed $400 a year could get a loan to see him through, but that would be a crushing drain on him in after life. $1,600 at 3 per cent interest—and only 20 years to pay? What are taxpayers for?

So we are promised a gigantic demonstration at Sacramento, at which "10,000 teachers, state college professors, students and concerned citizens" will protest this vicious attempt to balance the budget.

I am concerned, but I'm not marching. I'm saving my feet for the day when the taxpayers put on a demonstration. And I think there'll be a whale of a lot more than 10,000.

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BOOK NOTES

A Book-By-Mail Service For HUMAN EVENTS Readers

That we take note of a book here does not necessarily mean we fully endorse it, nor even that it is written from a conservative viewpoint. It means merely that we regard it as one which may have an impact on political thinking, and accordingly may be of interest to our readers.

THE EDITORS

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WOODEN NICKELS by William F. Rickenbacker (Arlington House, 191 pages, $3.95).

Are you one who fondly recalls what genuine silver coins looked like? Do you remember the good old days when a cheerful tinkle, instead of a dull thud, sounded when a half-dollar dropped to the counter? If so, this little volume is certain to strike a nostalgic chord.

Now, if you care to understand the forces responsible for "the decline and fall of silver coins" (as the book is subtitled), Mr. Rickenbacker's delightfully wry treatment will tell you all you will ever need to know. The bureaucrats will of course tell you that the subject of coinage is one best left to the experts, namely themselves. They would argue that if experts cannot understand Gresham's Law, how could you? Well, the experts read Keynes and Galbraith instead of Rickenbacker. Mr. Rickenbacker, an editor of **National Review** and a layman himself in these monetary matters, writes with such penetrating clarity that even most of us who are usually confused by this subject can tell what the Potomaniacs have done to our coins.

THE CHRISTIAN ALTERNATIVE TO SOCIALISM by Irving E. Howard (Crestwood Books, Box 2096, Arlington, Va., 153 pages, $2.50. Order directly from the publisher.)

On the next appropriate occasion, make your minister a gift of this book. It is an effective antidote for those who regard Christian doctrine as the antithesis of free market principles. Those who believe that Jesus was a peacenik Socialist are solidly rebutted on every page.

The Reverend Mr. Howard is the assistant editor of **Christian Economics** and the holder of advanced degrees in history, business administration and international relations from Harvard and Clark Universities. He is presently a candidate for a Ph.D. in economics. This collection of essays is intended to demonstrate "the relevance of the timeless principles of the Scriptures to current problems in economics and politics." Mr. Howard applies a Scriptural yardstick to land, labor, capital, entrepreneurship, advertising, interest, peace, foreign aid and a wide range of other matters of concern to all.

SPIES, DUPES AND DIPLOMATS By Ralph de Toledano (Arlington House, $5.00, 258 pages).

Richard Sorge was unquestionably the most successful Communist espionage operative of all time. Posing as a Nazi, he ingratiated himself with the German embassy in pre-war Tokyo. Information he was able to develop enabled him to advise Stalin of the impending Japanese attack two months before Pearl Harbor.

Of all that has been written about Sorge, nothing is as outstanding as Mr. de Toledano's tirelessly researched book. **Spies, Dupes and Diplomats** first appeared 15 years ago. The present edition provides a wealth of new material, including previously unpublished documents. It manages to take in the entire panorama of our Far East policy through the fall (or push?) of mainland China.

SECRETS OF ELECTRONIC ESPIONAGE by John M. Carroll (E. P. Dutton, 224 pages, $3.95).

Fifty years ago an intercepted radio signal became the first recorded introduction of electronics into the field of espionage. Today, highly sophisticated observer satellites regularly orbit the earth, gathering intelligence data and bugging; listening and jamming are common techniques in the sphere of international espionage. Prof. Carroll's book is a brief history of electronic spying and gives the reader a basic introduction to wiretaps, miniature recorders, bugs and light beams as well as intelligence-gathering airplanes, missiles and satellites.

ONE AGAINST THE MOB by Anthony Harrigan (Crestwood Books, Box 2096, Arlington, Va., 167 pages, softcover, $2.35. Order directly from publisher.).

Anthony Harrigan, the very able military commentator and associate editor of the Charleston (S.C.) **News-Courier**, brings a wealth of knowledge of African affairs to this compact study of Rhodesia.

The posture of the Western world toward Rhodesia following its declaration of independence from Great Britain in November 1965 is, as Alice Widener points out in her foreword, a conclusive demonstration of "the double standard of morality prevalent in the United Nations and in the highest circles of the Liberal Establishment."

Mr. Harrigan's narrative is augmented by some 154 photographs and illustrations. It is a carefully constructed and completely documented presentation of the positions of Ian Smith's regime. And it is a devastating indictment of the hollow, other-world attitude of the United States, Great Britain and the United Nations.

One Way the NLRB Aids Unions

From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

Here is a method whereby the National Labor Relations Board is of great assistance to labor unions.

A labor union loses an employe representation election by a close margin. Immediately it files unfair labor charges against the involved employer and asks for a NLRB hearing and setting aside the results of the recent election.

Usually the NLRB grants the labor union's request and sets aside the unfavorable labor union election and designates a date for a new election.

The labor union gets additional time to campaign among the involved company employes and uses the NLRB findings against the employer in its organizing campaign.

Charges of unfair labor practices can be so broad that no employer—no matter how neutral—will escape, if a labor union thinks unfair labor practice charges will aid the union in its organizing campaign.

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LAST YEAR, LBJ SAID an unbalanced budget helped the economy. This year he says a tax increase is necessary because the budget is unbalanced. Welcome to the New Math.

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Printing Press to Offset $18-Billion U.S. Deficit

By LAWRENCE FERTIG

(Our readers will be pleased to know that the columns of noted economist Lawrence Fertig will now appear in Human Events. *Mr. Fertig, author of* Prosperity Through Freedom, *has written extensively for the Scripps-Howard newspapers and was for many years economic columnist for the New York* World Telegram and Sun.*)*

What significance has the new budget for the average citizen? Stripped of all abracadabra it means a continuation—and acceleration—of inflation. It means a further deterioration in the buying power of lifetime savings (life insurance, savings accounts, etc.) It means that every citizen is practically forced to become a speculator in trying to offset the inflation.

Why inflation? Because deficits of the magnitude involved (the President estimates a *minimum* deficit of $18 billion over the next 18 months) will not be covered by borrowing from the public. The heart of the problem is that "Great Society" projects are being increased in the face of a $24-billion expenditure in Viet Nam and a $73-billion total budget for defense. We are to have not only guns and butter, but a little caviar thrown in.

The federal government is not going to invade private capital markets and take away $18 to $30 billion of capital in order to cover its own deficit spending. If it did, the result might be another period of money crisis, extreme scarcity of bank loans and sharply rising interest rates, as we had last summer and fall. This is precisely what Washington wants to avoid.

A substantial part of the deficit will be raised by the simple process of the

Mr. Fertig points out that the actual budget deficit for the next two years may well be between $25 and $30 billion.

printing press. Federal Reserve banks will buy billions of new government debt in the next year, and this will become the basis for expanding credit to commercial banks. As credit is expanded more sharply, the money supply will grow at a more rapid rate. As the money supply increases, there will be a greater upward pressure on prices.

Two of the country's foremost monetary experts recently stated that the danger to this country is accelerated inflation. Alfred Hayes, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, and Robert Roosa, formerly under secretary of the treasury, expressed deep concern over the effects of such inflation on our international position, as well as domestically. They fear a further increase in our chronic deficits to other nations and accelerated flight of our fast-disappearing gold stock.

Three different ways of calculating the deficit are discussed in the President's budget message. The familiar administrative budget—which has been stressed by every Administration over many decades—is now subordinated to two other methods of bookkeeping.

One is the consolidated cash budget. Substantially this is the administrative budget plus income and outgo of special funds (such as Social Security, highways, etc.) Now still a third way is recommended in the budget message. The President said, "I am emphasizing the National Income Accounts budget as a measure of fiscal activity because . . . ." Could it be because this budget for next year would show a deficit of $6 billion less than the administrative budget?

Well, the nub of the matter is that no matter which budget is analyzed, there are deficits of disturbing magnitude. A fairly accurate and simple way for the layman to characterize these budgets is in Hollywood language: "colossal, stupendous, enormous."

Simply stated, the President forecasts deficits of nearly $18 billion in the administrative budget in this fiscal year and next. As every knowledgeable observer knows, this estimate is on the optimistic side. *The actual total of the deficit may well be more nearly $25 to $30 billion by July 1968.*

There are several big ifs in the President's budget message. One if is the projected income of $4.5 billion to be derived from a 6 per cent wartime tax recommended to the Congress. Congress may not pass it. Another if is based on business conditions. If business is not vigorous, the Treasury's income will be considerably lower. Still a third if is the proposed sale of $5 billion of government-owned assets called "Participation Certificates." By a bookkeeping trick, this sale is listed in the budget as a decrease in spending. Maybe Washington will cancel this sale if the capital market is weak, as it was last fall.

Many officials would agree with the above analysis, but they say they are on the horns of a dilemma. They can't stop the war in Viet Nam. And they can't stop "Great Society" spending because the voters wouldn't like it. Basically, it's a *political* problem which can be solved only at the polls at some future time.

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SO BE IT—A disillusioned factory worker in Moscow taught his parrot to say: "To hell with Khrushchev!" One day, while at work in his factory, the parrot was practising at a moment when KGB agents were passing by and overheard him. The worker was promptly arrested and thrown into prison, where he requested permission to see his priest, who, as it happened, also owned a parrot. The priest suggested that it might help if he could substitute *his* parrot for that of the worker. This was done. On the day of the trial, the prosecuting attorney tried to make the parrot say the treasonous words, "To hell with Khrushchev!" by shouting those words at the poor bird. But the parrot maintained an obdurate silence. Finally, the judge suggested that perhaps the parrot would speak if the whole courtroom joined in: "To hell with Khrushchev!" "To hell with Khrushchev!" At last the parrot spoke: "Oh, Lord, hear our prayer!"

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Telling Test

By REP. MELVIN LAIRD (R.-Wis.)

This budget for fiscal year 1968 is a highly confusing document. Some might wish that it had been submitted in advance to the Food and Drug Administration to determine if it would pass appropriate labeling and packaging tests.

Saving Asia

By REP. HOWARD POLLOCK (R.-Alaska)

In my opinion we are fighting in Viet Nam in the just cause of freedom against Communist aggression. I heartily disagree with the views of our junior U.S. senator [Sen. Ernest Gruening, D.-Alaska] on the subject, and am firmly persuaded that but for our resistance to the Communist transgressions all of Southeast Asia today would be in Communist hands; Malaysia would not have survived as a federation; Indonesia would not have toppled the Communist regime of Sukarno; Red China would likely have been admitted to the United Nations by now; the new atmosphere of hope and confidence and courage throughout Asia's southern crescent of nations would not exist to shore up and strengthen Red China's fearful neighbors from Pakistan and India to Japan and Korea. Because we met our commitment to a nation desiring freedom over Communist domination, a rather astonishing series of transformations has taken place. There has been a quickening of national pride, a new solidity of national spirit, a sense of autonomy and freedom. The nations of the crescent have stood up and gone their own way with a new assurance that Chinese communism need not be the battering wave of the future, and we must have a determination to insure that it is not.

Court Hurts Security

By REP. O. C. FISHER (D.-Tex.)

The U.S. Supreme Court was probably toasted in Moscow this past week when a ruling was handed down which prohibits any school board in America to dismiss an admitted Communist. It is assumed that the same principle applies with respect to all others who work for a city, county, state or the federal government. That means, for example, that employe X, who works for a municipal generating plant, becomes a Communist and thereby shifts his allegiance from the United States to the Soviet Union, the city which owns the generating plant would not be allowed to fire the man. Yet that one man might very well be able, at a given time, to pull a switch or engage in sabotage which would instantly put the plant out of operation for hours or even days. And that man could be expected to do just that—or something worse—on orders from Moscow if we should find ourselves at war with the Russians. This recent Supreme Court decision may prove to be the greatest single setback for national security that has happened in a decade, although this is by no means the first time the justices have thrown a mantle of protection around Communist activities. This reminds us of what law Prof. Fred Inbau at Northwestern University said: "This country has been on a civil liberties binge too long. . . ."

Global Turmoil

By REP. ROBERT V. DENNEY (R.-Neb.)

This country and the world are in need of a U.S. foreign policy that our friends will honor and our enemies will fear and respect. A foreign policy must be based on two fundamental facts. It must prevent the expansion of hostile forces, and it must build up friendly allies, without regard to their personal opinions of us.

For the first time in man's history, all five continents of the world are in a state of turmoil. This turmoil is partially the result of what might be termed a birth of population explosion. This is *not* a population explosion in the normal sense of children being born, but rather is an explosion of one billion people who have been born into independence and 60 new nations that have been conceived in the last 20 years. These "children of independence" and new "states of freedom" were trained for generations in graft from their parents and masters. These infant nations are struggling to take their first political steps and they are hampered by a shortage of trained personnel to operate their governments.

The older nations of the world are also struggling—struggling to overcome serious problems and attempting to stem the drain of our gold to foreign countries. At the same time, Germany is trying to reunite and France is desirous of becoming a world power.

Even Communist China and Russia are struggling to adapt their governments to new situations and they are manifesting a new type of imperialism. Amid all this turmoil the leaders in Washington say that our alliances are in disarray, which in simple language means, "They are in a mess."

Rhodesian Tinderbox

By REP. ALBERT WATSON (R.-S.C.)

No diplomat could possibly argue with a straight face that tiny Rhodesia is a threat to world peace, and yet Americans must stand by while economic sanctions are levied against a sovereign nation which supports our policy in Viet Nam while the perpetrator of those sanctions, Great Britain, lends no support to our efforts in Viet Nam, and actually trades with the enemy. The implications of the Rhodesian situation are indeed grave and could have repercussions throughout the world. There are growing indications that Africa might well become the future battleground for the forces of the Western world and communism. The newly emerging nations of that continent have clearly indicated that a break with the West is an invitation to disaster. And disaster is imminent in Africa today. Governments in Africa topple almost daily as a result of the lack of stability so characteristic of Western governments. The government of Rhodesia is pro-Western and it has demonstrated amazing economic and political stability. The loss of that government to African reactionism could set off a chain reaction that would dwarf any failure in Southeast Asia.

Aid to Poland

By REP. ODIN LANGEN (R.-Minn.)

It is incredible that our State Department has proposed a $26-million debt for United States shipments of food to Poland be repaid in Polish currency rather than in American dollars. It is inconceivable that at a time when Communist-ruled Poland is openly supporting and assisting North Viet Nam, our government can consider what amounts to simply giving that nation millions of dollars.

Last year a Hamburg, Germany, newspaper noted the unloading of American wheat in the harbor of Stettin, Poland, while on the other side of that same harbor weapons to be used against American soldiers were being loaded. As long as Polish support is contributing to the deaths of servicemen in Viet Nam, I find any effort to give Poland economic assistance absolutely unthinkable.

False Economizing

By REP. DONALD BROTZMAN (R.-Colo.)

The Congress soon will be asked to dig deeper than ever before into the pockets of the American taxpayer to finance the costs of operating our great nation. The President has said he will ask Congress to add 6 per cent to the income tax of most of the nation's wage earners and all corporations. He also wants to further bloat the national debt. Mr. Johnson would have us believe that he is in a mood to economize. Unfortunately, in his public utterances he seems more inclined to cut away the lean than the fat. He deals in items like the deferment of vital flood-control projects and the much-needed interstate highway program—calculated, no doubt, to provide surface evidence that he is cutting federal expenditures, but unfortunately this only adds to the ultimate costs.

Government ETV

By REP. GEORGE A. GOODLING (R.-Pa.)

The 90th Congress will be asked to plant a seed for the growth of a vast educational television network financed largely by the federal government. The government would pay for this ETV program just like it does for everything else—with tax money taken from the people. The Carnegie Commission on Educational Television—a prime mover in the project—has recommended that a Corporation for Public Television be set up, a federally chartered nongovernmental, nonprofit organization. The commission urges the Congress to provide $40 million annually to get the program under way, financing this move with the imposition of a 2 per cent excise tax on all TV sets manufactured in the United States—this tax on top of the sales taxes already imposed on these sets in various areas.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare would have its budget adjusted so it could spend $68 million a year, working to set up a national system of 380 educational stations in 10 years. It is not made clear how far the program might be expanded beyond the 380 stations. Costs are estimated to average $178 million annually for the first 4 years, rising to $270 million a year by 1980, when it is estimated there would be 380 stations. And as these costs rise, so would the excise taxes, rising from the start of 2 per cent annually up to 5 per cent per year.

The tax receipts would be placed in a trust fund, administered by the U.S. Treasury and turned over to the corporation. This would—it should be noted—permit an avoidance of the regular appropriation procedure, eliminating the surveillance of the appropriate congressional committee and, thereby, taking control of expenditures out of the hands of the Congress.

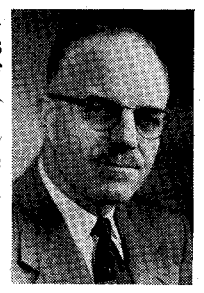
East-West Trade

By REP. SAM STEIGER (R.-Ariz.)

One of the major issues facing this 90th Congress and one that is not well publicized is the relaxation of barriers to East-West trade. Many Republicans and many Democrats in this 90th Congress do not feel that the Administration's position is valid. The Administration's position is that it is worth the jeopardy to our troops in Viet Nam to relax trade barriers with the Communist nations—recognizing that these Communist nations are supplying the North Vietnamese. The battle lines are clearly drawn on this issue and the Congress, in my opinion, is not in sympathy with the Administration's position.

Curbing the Court

By REP. E. Y. BERRY (R.-S.D.)



I have introduced a House joint resolution which would provide a constitutional amendment which would allow Congress to limit the power of the Supreme Court by permitting it the right to override a Supreme Court decision by a two-thirds majority vote in both the House and Senate. The congressional veto would check the power of the Supreme Court just as the President can check Congress by the use of the veto. The American people would then be in the final seat of authority because they would have the power of the ballot to reverse any actions of the Congress at the polls at the next election.

No federal court has the authority to rule out or alter laws unless the law violates the Constitution. Now, however, the court is exercising final power over not only what the law means, but how it is to be written and how it is to be carried out.

It is my hope that Congress can take action on this legislation in the near future. It is my feeling that establishment of the limiting procedure will provide a true voice of the people and slow down the trend toward concentration of power in Washington.

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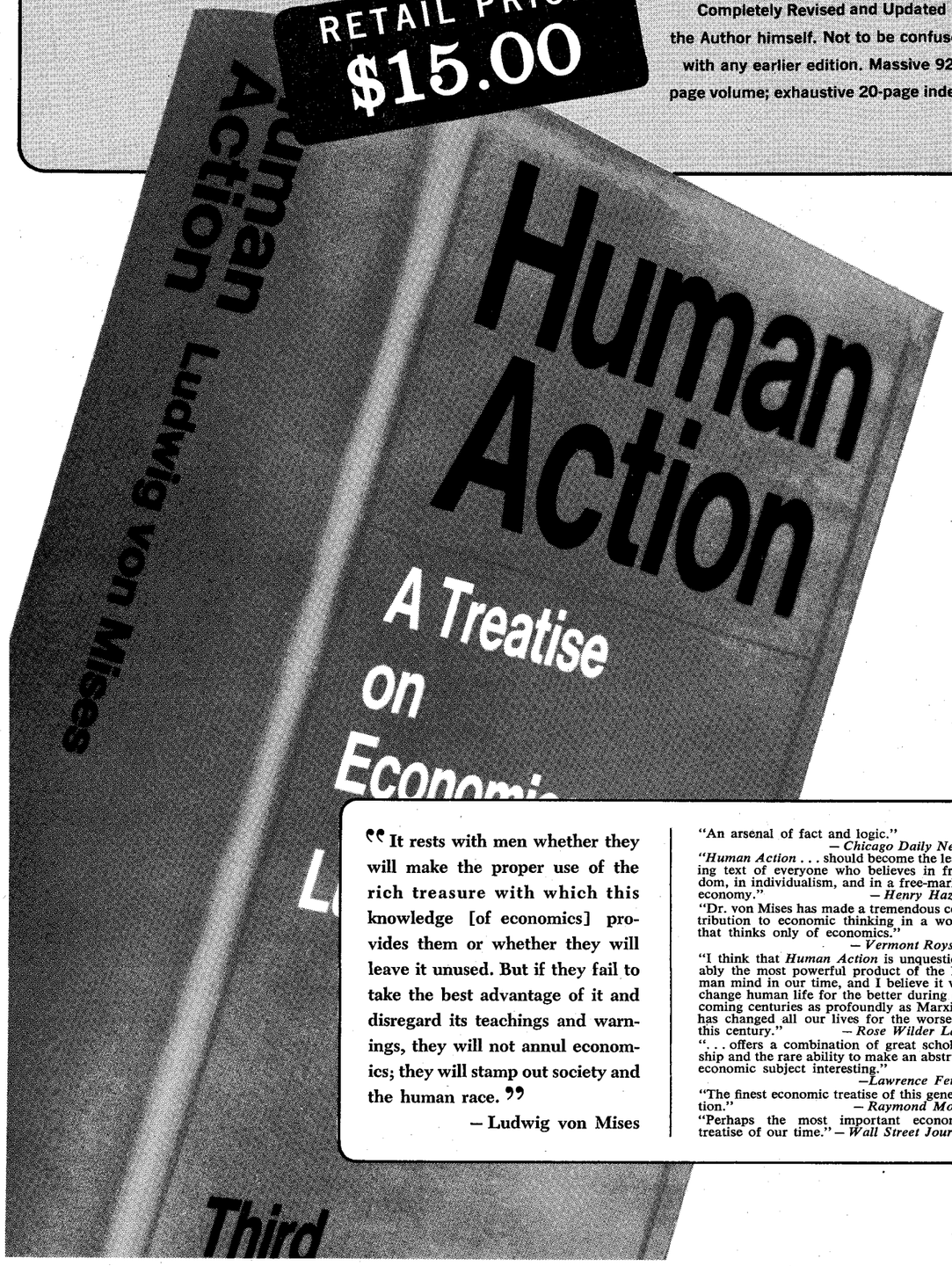

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- ★ Capitalism was built on the broken bodies of exploited workers.
- ★ Businessmen have ravaged our natural resources in their lust for profit.
- ★ Unemployment is caused by lack of "effective demand".
- ★ Unions have won rich benefits for their members.
- ★ Advertising is a device for defrauding the consumer and represents a net economic loss.
- ★ Minimum-wage laws help the poor.

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